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REPORT ON A LINGUISTIC MISSION TO NORTH-WESTERN INDIA

BY

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

LANGUAGES

Ashk.:	Ashkun
Av.:	Avestan
Bal.:	Balochi
Bashk.:	Bashkarik
Br..	Brahui
Bur.:	Burushaski
Dam.:	Dameli
G.B.:	Gawar Bati
Guj.:	Gujuri
Hi.:	Hindi
I.A.:	Indo-Aryan
Ir.:	Iranian
Ishk.:	Ishkashmi
Kaf.:	Kafiri
Kal.:	Kalasha
Khetr.:	Khetrani
Khow.:	Khowar
Koh.:	Kohistani
Lhd.:	Lahnda
Mj.:	Munji
Orm.:	Ormuri
Oss.:	Ossetic
Pal.:	Palula
Pash.:	Bashai
Pash. ar.:	Pash. of Aret
» ch.:	» » Chilas
» d.:	» » Darra i Nūr
» l.:	» » Laghman
Phl.:	Pahlavi
Pras.:	Prasun
Prs.:	Persian
Psht.:	Pashto
Sgl.:	Sanglechi
Sh.:	Shina
Sh. ch.:	Sh. of Chilas
» jij.:	» » Jijelut
» gi.:	» » Gilgit
» koh.:	» » Kohistan
» pal.:	» » Pales
Shgh.:	Shughni
Shum.:	Shumashti
Si.:	Sindhi
Skt.:	Sanskrit
Soghd.:	Soghdian
Tir.:	Tirahi
Torw.:	Torwali
Waig.:	Waigeli
Wan.:	Wanetsi
Wkh.:	Wakhi
Yaghn.:	Yaghnobi
Yd.:	Yidgha

BOOKS

AO.:	Acta Orientalia.
AJPh.:	American Journal of Philology.
BSL.:	Bulletin de la société de linguistique de Paris.
BSOS.:	Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies.
EVP.:	G. Morgenstierne, An Etymological Vocabulary of Pashto.
JRAS.:	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
JASB.:	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
LSI.:	Linguistic Survey of India.
NTS.:	Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap.
Report:	G. Morgenstierne, Report on a linguistic Mission to Afghanistan.

CONTENTS

ADDENDUM

Ad p. 67, l. 8. — But cf. also Ḱati *próme* 'a kid, one year old', Waigeli (Lumsden) *práhmáh*.

PREFACE

In 1929 the Norwegian Institute for Comparative Research in Human Culture sent me on a second linguistic mission to the Borderland of North-Western India, and thus enabled me to continue the investigations of the Indo-Iranian frontier languages which I had begun in 1924.

The chief linguistic object of this second expedition was to study the Iranian and 'Dardic' languages in and around the isolated hill-state of Chitral, thus linking up the field of study of my previous tour with the Pamirs, where the linguistic conditions have during recent years been explored by several scholars coming from the Russian side.

The field of research was also extended towards the south by means of visits to Balochistan and to the southern part of the North-West Frontier Province. And during my stay in Peshawar I continued to collect linguistic information from the region I had visited in 1924. During these two expeditions I have attempted to make a survey of the Indo-Iranian linguistic frontier, building on the foundation laid by the Linguistic Survey of India and other previous sources. But even if, as I venture to hope, the outlines of the linguistic geography of this important region have now been laid down, and there remain probably no unknown languages or important dialects to be discovered, this survey is necessarily of a preliminary, and often sketchy nature.

Many of the languages and dialects which I have only been able to touch upon, will no doubt amply repay

a more concentrated study. But not only monographies on separate dialects are wanted; we must also hope that it will be possible to produce some kind of linguistic atlas of this region before it is too late. To some extent it may be possible to solve problems of word-geography from the material available to me.

A special interest of this region for general linguistics rests with the fact that here two related, but early separated groups of Indo-European languages, the Indo-Aryan and the Iranian, have from times immemorial bordered upon and actually influenced each other, the tide of expansion moving now this way, now the other. The result is that many linguistic features have developed which are common to both Iranian and Indian languages of this region, and in some cases also to neighbouring languages belonging to other families. Thus the Dravidian Brahui has, with slight exceptions, adopted the phonological system of Balochi, the isolated Burushaski that of the neighbouring Indian language Shina, and, in the North, Turkish dialects have been more or less iranized in their phonology. In most cases, it seems, this phonetical homogenity is the result of a kind of contagion, and not due to the influence of a substratum.

For the historical study of Iranian and Indian languages the archaic forms and words preserved by many of these isolated hill-languages are of considerable importance, and they may even throw some light upon the general history of the Indo-European languages. The Kafir group forms, in a certain sense, a third, intermediate branch of the Indo-Iranian family, and is of a special interest on that account. These languages are, however, becoming more and more indianized.

But the aims of my mission were not exclusively of a linguistic nature. One important object was to study the decaying paganism of the Kafir tribes in Chitral, the only existing remnants of ancient Aryan religion not affected by literary traditions. It was high time that this was done. In one of the two tribes in question only a few

grown up men were still pagans, and nobody but one old priest remembered much of the ancient traditions. The material which I was able to collect was by no means exhaustive; but it probably contains some traditional matter which will fall into oblivion within a very short time.

I had not the time or the opportunity to take up any serious study of the social and economical life of these tribes; but there is no doubt this would prove a most fruitful field of investigation. Many primitive customs still prevail among the hill-tribes, and the geographical character of the country has favoured the development of methods of farming, e. g. in the exploitation of the summer pastures, parallel to those found in mountainous regions of Europe. — A very useful beginning was made by the Zoological Survey of India in sending Dr. Guha to Chitral, while I was staying there, for the purpose of studying the anthropology of the various tribes, and the social customs of the Kafirs.

My sincere thanks are due to the Institute for its generous assistance, and also to all authorities in British India and Chitral with whom I came into contact. They always and ungrudgingly helped me in every way, and received me with kind hospitality and friendship. It is a special pleasure for me to mention the great interest which H. H. the Mehtar of Chitral and his sons took in the linguistic and ethnographical investigation of the country, and the valuable information they gave me on numerous occasions. Their kindness and the cheerful willingness to help me which I experienced with many of the tribesmen, will always make me cherish the memory of my work among the glorious hills of Chitral.

BALOCHISTAN

Landing at Karachi on March 1st 1929, I went, after a short visit to the excavations at Mohenjo Daro, straight on to Quetta. Here, in the headquarters of the Balochistan Agency, I stayed for about a forthnight making a rapid survey of the southernmost Pashto dialects, and collecting some information about the phonetical systems of Balochi and Brahui. I also made excursions by car to Pishin [1] and the Afghan frontier at Chaman and to Kalat, in order to get some impression of the country and the character of the habitation.

Kalat is at present a rapidly decaying place. It has lost nearly all of its political importance as the capital of the Brahui confederacy, and the agricultural possibilities of the surrounding district do not suffice to support the population. The picturesquely situated, but dilapidated castle is surrounded by abandoned and crumbling mud huts, and the remaining population has taken refuge within the walls of the small bazar which crouches at the foot of the castle hill.. In consequence the Brahui speaking tribes are losing their one centre of one importance, and this circumstance cannot fail to react upon the future development, or disintegration of the language.

A new factor has also been introduced into the lin-

[1] The local pronunciation is *Pšīn*. The form *Pišīn* has probably a secondarily developed *i* in the first syllable. If Av. *Pišinah-* had preserved its first *i* in Psht., we should expect the *š* to have been sonorized (* *Pižīn*), but through the syncope of the first syllable the *š* was preserved or restituted. Another possibility is, of course, that the form *Pišīn* is not of Psht. origin.

guistic life of Balochistan through the growth of Quetta and the immigration of Indian merchants, artisans and clerks. Railways and motor-bus'es bring the more populous parts of Balochistan within easy reach of that place, and numerous members of all tribes crowd together there, as I had occasion to observe, for the big religious festivals. The effect of this new situation on the linguistic development in Balochistan is obvious. Till recently local forms of Sindhi and Lahnda were the Indian dialects which chiefly influenced the languages of Balochistan. But their place is now probably to a large extent being taken by Hindostani.

If we abstract from the Indian dialects spoken along the eastern fringes of Balochistan and in some of the towns, the main languages of the country are Balochi and Pashto, both of which are of Iranian origin, and Brahui which belongs to the Dravidian family of languages. Quetta is situated in a Pashto-speaking district, but very close to the point where the territories of the three languages meet.

Brahui

Among these Brahui is undoubtedly the one which has the longest history in this region. We know that the extension of Balochi into north-eastern Balochistan did not take place till the late Middle Ages, and it is probable that Pashto has been introduced from a more northerly home.

But we possess no means of deciding how ancient is the Brahui occupation of the highlands of Kalat. It is uncertain whether they represent the remnants of a prehistoric Dravidian population extending over a great part of India, a tribe left behind by Dravidians entering India from the north west, or a body of immigrants who at a later date have worked their way up from Deccan, the present home of the Dravidians.

Professor Bloch[1] is inclined to favour the last mentioned theory. From the fact that Br. shares some peculiarities of phonetical development with a certain group

[1] BSL. XXV, 2, and BSOS. V., 732.

of Dravidian languages, he draws the inference that it has probably been separated from the rest of the Dravidian group at a time when dialectical differences had already sprung up within that linguistic family, and that, consequently, it is probable that the Brahuis are immigrants from Southern India. The two sound-changes adduced by Bloch are the transition of initial *v*- into *b*-, which Brahui shares with Kurukh, Malto and Kanarese, and the loss of cerebral *ṇ* in the first three of the languages mentioned.

A third peculiarity common to Brahui, Malto and Kurukh is the development of one type of Dravidian *k* into *x*.[1]

The cumulative evidence of these three sound-changes does certainly prove a special connection between Br. and a group of northern Drav. dialects. But is does not necessarily follow that the Brahuis are immigrants from Central India. If Dravidian tribes did inhabit north-western India before the arrival of the Aryans, it is quite conceivable that there did already exist tendencies towards dialectical differentiation within this vast territory, and that the Aryan invasion cut the Brahuis off from the rest of the dialect group represented in our days by Kurukh and Malto.

It is not certain that an isolated Drav. tribe in later times could have found its way through the plains of Gujarat and Sindh as easily as some Dravidians, mentioned by Bloch, have pushed towards the north-east through the thinly populated Central Indian hills, which are favorable to the movements of uncivilized jungle tribes. Nor does the social structure of the Brahui people present any similarities with that of the wide-wandering Gypsies, who are also adduced as a parallel.

[1] Several instances of this sound-change are given by Tuttle (Dravidian Researches, AJPh. 50, 152, and Dravidian Developments, Language Monographs V, passim). Other instances are: Br. *xar* 'ram', Kan. *kuri*, Tam. *kori* 'sheep'; Br. *xulīng* 'to fear': Tam. *kulir* 'to tremble'. — Bloch (BSOS. V. 741) compares Br. *xār*- 'to itch' with Kur. '*xas*- 'to scratch', Kui *kasa* 'to bite'; but the Br. word is borrowed from Prs.

From the linguistic point of view nothing can therefore be said with certainty about the original home of the Brahuis.

The Brahui coolies working at the Mohenjo Daro excavations believe that the ancient city was built by their own ancestors. This quasi-tradition which has sprung up within the last few years, and is probably due to a misunderstanding of something the archaeologists have told them, may yet happen to contain an element of truth.

The numerous Aryan loan-words in Br. do not render us any service in trying to trace the early history of the language. There are one or two doubtful I.A. loanwords[1] which may be ancient, but the source of which is unknown. And a few words may have been borrowed from a pre-Balochi Ir. dialect.[2]

But the bulk of the loan-words are of Bal., Prs. or Si. (Lhd.) origin. In some cases Br. has preserved words of Bal. origin, but not recorded in that language, or Middle Prs. words.[3]

It is interesting to note that the phonetical system of Brahui is nearly identical with that of Bal. The vowels, short and long, nasalized and unnasalized, are the same.[4]

All the consonants occuring in Br. were used by my W.Bal. informant from Panjgur in Makran. Even the peculiar Br. λ[5] was found in the loanword *tēλ* 'scorpion'.

The fricatives *x*, γ and *ƒ* which are quite common in Br. and E.Bal., do occur in W.Bal., but chiefly in

[1] E. g. *xōlum* 'wheat', if related to Skr. *godhūma-*.

[2] NTS. V, 37.

[3] Cf. NTS. l. c.

[4] Also the final ε, e. g. in Bal., Br. *yā̃zdε* '11', and the diphthongs, with the exception of the rare Br. *ei* (Bray's Brahui Grammar § 5).

[5] Prob. a long, voiceless, retroflex *l*, pronounced, however, λṭ by a man from Baghvane, south of Kalat, e. g. *tēλt* 'scorpion', *īλṭ* 'fly', *mōλṭ* 'smoke'.

loanwords.[1] Common to Br. and Bal. are the labio-dental *v* and the *ẓ* as voiced variants of *f* and *ṡ*, e. g. in *havdɛ* '17', *haẓdɛ* '18'. As well in Br. as in Bal., but also in some neighbouring languages, *r* before dentals frequently develops into a kind of *ṛ*, and the tendency towards metathesis in many groups of consonants is strong in both languages.

It is well known that the chief characteristic of E. Bal. consists in the aspiration of initial voiceless plosives, and in the opening of all postvocalic plosives. Thus we find W. Bal. *tap* 'heat', *pād* 'foot', *rōč* 'day', *kopag* 'shoulder', but E. Bal. *t'af*, *p'āδ*, *rōṡ*, *k'ofaγ*.

As far as it is possible to judge from the very limited material I had occasion to collect from two speakers of W. Bal.[2], a slight aspiration seems, however, to be existing to some extent in these dialects, too. Also the opening of intervocalic *d*, *ḍ* into δ, *ṛ* was occasionally heard in the Panjgur dialect.[3]

The aspiration of plosives is not unknown to Brahui, but Bray[4] informs us that the use of aspiration in Br. indicates contact with Sindhi and E. Bal. According to my own observations, too, the aspiration was heard chiefly in N. Brahui, and here we also find instances of opening of intervocalic plosives as in E. Bal., e. g. in N. Br. *tūvē* 'moon': S. Br. *tūbē*. It is evident that there is some connection between the increase of aspiration and spirantization in the adjoining dialects of Bal. and Br.

The tribal system of the Baloches and Brahuis, which in contrast to that of the Pathans favours the assimilation of racially foreign elements into the tribe, has no

[1] I heard e. g. Makr. *xasī* 'butter', *marəx* 'horn', *čuγ* 'neck', *phēf* 'lung' from Br.; *dēγdān* 'fireplace', *murγāvī* 'duck', *barf* 'snow' from Prs. But also *gufin* 'to weave', which is genuine Bal., and Nushki *gōx* 'cow', *nāxun* 'nail'.

[2] From Nushki and from Panjgur.

[3] E. g. *biδäi* 'give', *paδa* 'after', *guṛā* 'then'.

[4] The Brahui Language § 7. — Aspirated forms occur also in the Ludhiana Mission Press translation of St. John.

doubt led to frequent change of language within many Bal. and Br. clans. Frequently the clans are linguistically divided, and there are people who call themselves Brahuis, but speak Bal., and vice versa.[1] In such circumstances it becomes impossible to decide, whether there is a Br. substratum in Bal., or whether it is Br. which has been influenced by Bal. But, considering that the aspiration and spirantization is certainly more strongly developed in E. Bal. then in Br., it seems probable that Bal. has been the influencing part, and that the original Dravidian phonetical system of Br. has been adapted to that of the Balochi neighbours.

It ought also to be mentioned that the dialects of both Bal. and Br. spoken along the Upper Sindh Frontier and in Khairpur have been affected by the Si. aversion to letting a word end in a consonant, and have added a short final vowel. This is certainly due to the influence of Sindhi, made possible by the extensive bilinguism existing among Baloches and Brahuis in Sindh, and not to any Si. substratum.

Balochi

The information which I was able to gather about Bal. dialects has to some extent been embodied in an article in NTS. (Vol. V). I did also collect some Bal. texts from various dialects.

The dialect of Nushki which had not been described before, did not differ much from other forms of W. Bal. It preserves the long *u* which is also found i Panjguri;[2] but it agrees with Kechi in having *-t*, not *-s* in words denoting relationship, e. g. in *pit* 'father'.

Both Nushki and Panjguri have borrowed a number of Br. words. The Brahuis were once masters of Southern Balochistan, and the fact that the Baloch will recognize a great number of Bal. words in Br., will probably render it more natural for him to adopt in return some Br. words into his own language, neither of the

[1] Acc. to Zarubin (Contributions à la langue et au folklore des Baločs, Mém. du Comité des Orientalistes, V. 660[1], Leningrad 1930)

[2] Cf. LSI. X, p. 386.

two languages possessing any cultural predominance as compared with the other.

On the whole the dialectical variations within the two main groups of Bal. are not of very great importance, and even the difference between Eastern and Western Bal. is not so considerable as that which exists between some dialects of Psht. The publication by Zarubin of texts from the Bal. dialect spoken in Turkmenistan[1] brings out yet more clearly the unity of the language from Merw to Karachi, a distance of more than 1000 miles. The Baloches are mostly nomads, and the tribes are constantly shifting about and getting into touch with each other. There is none of that isolation or exclusiveness of each single social group which usually favours linguistic differentiation.

Pashto Although Psht. is also an Ir. language, its phonetical system differs much more from Bal. than is the case with that of the completely unrelated Br.

Thus *f*, *h* and the semiocclusive *ǰ* are very rare in the Psht. dialects of Balochistan, and do not really belong to their phonetical system. Nor does the aspiration of voiceless plosives play any rôle in Psht. phonology, and the dental fricatives of E. Bal. are absolutely unknown. On the other hand, the dental semiocclusives *c* and *j* are very common in Psht., but quite foreign to Bal. and Br., and *ž*, *γ*, which are found in E. Bal., but only in intervocalic position, are quite usual also as initial sounds in Psht. The vowel system of Psht. is much less simple than that of the two other languages, it abounds in indistinct, mixed sounds, and vowels are much more liable to be influenced by neighbouring sounds.

The Psht. dialects of Balochistan all belong to the southern or 'soft' variety of the language, which does

[1] L. c. — The presence of numerous Ind. loanwords even in this dialect shows that the Baloches of this far n. w. region have not been left behind when the rest of the tribe invaded Balochistan, but that they are recent immigrants from Mekran, and do thus represent a regressive movement of the Baloches. The dialect closely resembles that of Panjgur.

not change ṣ̌ and ẓ̌ into *x* and *g*. The most important Pathan tribes of the province are the Kākaṛs and the Spīn (White), and Tōr (Black) Tarīns.

Common to both Kakaṛi and Tarin (and also to some Ghilzai dialects such as Pur Khel) is the tendency towards depalatalization of common Psht. *ṣ̌, ẓ̌[1] e. g. in *myāst* 'month', *səga* 'sand', *sə* 'became'. This tendency is carried through in some Kakar dialects to a still greater extent than in Tarīn. All Psht. dialects, however, have ṣ̌ in (*w*)*ṣ̌el* '20'. Probably **wsel* < **wisati* became *wṣ̌el* through the influence of the preceding *w*.[2]

There does not appear to be any very definite thoroughgoing difference of dialect between the entire Kakar and the entire Tarin tribe. The presents in *-āẓ̌-* (Standard Psht. *-ēẓ̌-*) appear to be peculiar to Kak.,[3] and so is also the difference of vocalization in *v(y)éṣ̌tə* 'hair': pl. *vəṣ̌tán* (Tar. *v(y)éṣ̌tə* : *v(y)ēṣ̌tán* etc., Achakzai *byéṣ̌tə* : *byēṣ̌tán*). Characteristic of Kak., at any rate of the eastern clans, is also the preservation of *w-* in *wṣ̌əl*, *wṣ̌el* etc. '20'.

The Sherani dialect, spoken in the country round the Takht-i-Sulaiman in the north-eastern corner of Balochistan, on the whole agrees with Kakaṛi, but presents some peculiarities of its own.[4]

But many isoglotts appear to run across the main tribal borders.

On the whole the differences existing between these

[1] Loanwords with original *ś*, *ź*, such as *zəba* 'tongue', *sunḍ* 'lip show that a *de*palatalization has really taken place. — In common Psht. there existed, besides *ṣ̌*, a *š* developed from *xš*, *fš* (*špa* 'night', *špūn* 'shepherd') and a palatalized *ś*.

[2] EVP. s. v. I have tried to explain the general occurence of *š* in this word as the result of a tendency to avoid homonymity between the words for '20' and for '100' (*səl*). But Kak. Psht. *wšel*, Wanetsi *šwī*, with preserved *w*, disprove this theory.

[3] E. g. *widāẓ̌əm* 'I fall asleep', *vyarāẓ̌əm* 'I fear' : Achakzai (Chaman) *bidyēẓ̌əm*, *byērēẓ̌əm*, Tor Tarin *bidīẓ̌əm*, *byērēẓ̌əm*, Spin Tarin *bidēẓ̌əm*, *vyerēẓ̌əm*; but eastern Kak. also *vyērə'ẓ̌əm*, *vīdə'zəm* : Stand. Psht. *ūdə-kēẓ̌əm*, *yērēẓ̌əm*.

[4] E. g. *dəba* '2', *ny-* < *my-* in *nyāsāi* 'mosquito' etc.

southernmost dialects of Psht. are not very deepgoing, and do not affect essential parts of the phonological or morphological system of the language. But still the Psht. dialects of Balochistan present several archaic or otherwise interesting forms, some of which have been mentioned in an article in the NTS.[1]

Wanetsi One dialect, however, stands entirely apart, not only from its neighbours, but from all other known varieties of Psht. This is the so-called Wanetsi (Waṇētsī) dialect spoken by sections of the Spin Tarins, and partly of other tribes, living near Harnai, on the loop-line Sibi-Bostan. The existence of this dialect has been mentioned in the Gazetteer of the Sibi District, and by Sir Denys Bray in his Report on the Census of Balochistan for 1911 (quoted in the LSI., Vol. X, 112). Apart from the quite small number of words quoted by these sources nothing was known about the Wanetsi dialect. I therefore made a point of getting hold of a speaker of Wanetsi in Quetta, and stopped for a day in Harnai.

The material which I was able to collect is necessarily limited; but it suffices to bring into evidence the independent position of Wanetsi. Wanetsi has, indeed, some claim to be considered as being in its base a separate Ir. language, although intimately related to Psht., and being overlaid with Psht. elements to such an extent, that it is often difficult or impossible to extricate the genuine Wan. forms.

A preliminary description of Wan. has already been given,[2] and I shall here only mention some of the most characteristic features of the dialect.

Intervocalic *t*, which in most cases results in Psht. *l*, is lost or becomes *y* in Wan. E.g. *šwī* '20', *piyār* 'father', *wiyāṛ* 'went' : Psht. *(w)šəl*, *plār*, *(w)lāṛ*.

ft results in Wan. *w*, Psht. usually in *(w)d*. E. g. *tåu* (f. *tawa*) 'hot', *šọ̄ə* 'milk', *ōwə* '7' : Psht. *tōd (tawda)*, *šaudə*, but also *ōwə*.

[1] Vol. IV, pp. 156 ff.
[2] NTS. IV, 156—175.

rž is preserved in *tərža* 'thirsty', *yirž* 'bear' etc.: Psht. *təẓai*, *yəẓ*.

The genitive particle is postfixed *γa*, in Psht. prefixed *da*. The demonstratives *ai* 'this', *indī* 'this here' are not found in Psht. Cf. also *mōš* 'we' : Psht. *mūẓ* etc.

The personal endings of the verb are: *-ī*, *-ē*, *-ə*, *-ū*, *-o*, *-īn* : Psht. *-əm*, *-ē*, *-ī*, *-ū*, *aī*,[1] *-ī*.

Several verbs have a present in *-en-*, e. g. *līkenī* 'I write'.

A number of words are unknown to Psht. E. g. *γōz-* 'to drink', *lēžda* 'bull', *wagura* 'village', *sīstə* 'sand'.

It will be seen that Wanetsi must have branched off from Psht. before the characteristics common to all dialects of that language had been completely evolved. The treatment of the word for 'twenty' is illustrative of the relationship between the two languages. Psht. *(w)šəl* and Wan. *šwī* (< * *wšī*) are both derived from * *wisáti*, with an accentuation which is opposed to that found in all other Ir. languages.[2] On the other hand it is evident that the Wan. form cannot be derived from the Psht. one, but that they are both developed from Middle Ir. * *w(i)śa'd*, * *wśid*. Accordingly, Psht. and Wan. were originally dialects spoken by closely related Ir. tribes, probably both of them immigrants from the North. But while Psht. expanded over a large territory, and split up into a great number of dialects, Wanetsi has been pushed back, and has been ever more 'afghanized'.

A proof that Wan. was formerly spoken over a larger area, is furnished by the fact that a few peculiar Wan. words[3] were used by some Kakars whose homes were situated considerably north of Harnai.

[1] In several dialects, however, *-ō*.

[2] With the possible, but not probable exemption of Ossetic. — Benveniste has suggested to me that * *wisáti* might have its accent from * *wisátama-*. This is quite possible; but one does not quite see the reason why just this cardinal should have been influenced in its accentuation by the ordinal. Besides, the question is linked up with the whole intricate problem of the effects of the ancient accent in Psht.

[3] *lēžda* 'bull', *p(l)yār* 'father', *sōu* '100'.

Within the present, very restricted, territory of Wan. dialectical differences are, as might be expected, small, but not altogether wanting.[1]

Before leaving Balochistan we shall mention the existence of a Persian-speaking agricultural population in some villages near Mastung and in Kalat. The dialect seemed to be of the ordinary eastern Persian 'Tājikī' type [2]

Khetrani Another dialect, of Indo-Aryan origin, which attracted my attention, is Khetrani, which is spoken among the Baloches of the Marri Hills, s. w. of Fort Loralai in north-eastern Balochistan. It is separated from the contiguous Sindhi-Lahnda area, and it may possibly be the remnant of the Indian language spoken in the country before the arrival of the Baloch and the Pathan. Sir George Grierson, who gives a short list of words of the dialect,[3] considers it to have Dardic affinities.

While I was staying at Harnai, a Khetran was brought to me late in the evening, and, as he was leaving the next morning, I had only occasion to write down quite a short vocabulary of the dialect.

It appeared to me to be, apart from a few peculiarities such as *ž̇ārhā* '11' = Lhd. *yārhā̃*, of the ordinary Lhd. type. And I was unable to detect any traces of 'Dardic' characteristics in the dialect. The *š* (*ṣ*) preserved in most Dardic languages has become *s*, and *st* has been assimilated, as is the case in Lhd.

The aspiration of mediae is found in a number of words. The preservation of the group *tr* and the tendency to substitute cerebrals for dentals are found in Lhd. and Si., too, and the aspiration of final consonants, which has also been adduced as a Dardic trait, appears

[1] One Spīn Tarīn used a number of forms differing from those of all my other Wan. informants. E. g. *urnān* 'thighs', *γōbūn* 'cowherd', *mēlmūna* 'guests', *swarla* 'spring', *šọe* 'milk', against *wrunān*, *γabūn*, *cərmūṇa*, *šụə* of my other informants.

[2] Cf. LSI. X, p. 452.

[3] LSI. VIII, 1, 373 ff.

only in LSI. *nakh* 'nail', where I heard *nak*. The vigesimal system is found also in many Psht. dialects, and to some extent in Bal. and Br. And the pers. pronoun 2nd pl. *awē*, which Grierson compares with Gawar Bati *ābi* etc., appears to me to be more naturally identified with Si. *avī̃* < *avhī̃*.

But it is quite possible that a more profound study of this comparatively isolated dialect might reveal some details of interest which have not been preserved in Lhd. or Si.

PESHAWAR AND THE NORTHWEST FRONTIER PROVINCE

From Balochistan I went to Peshawar, where I stayed from March 25th till April 24th. Besides preparing for my tour to Chitral, and making arrangements with the authorities about it, I collected information about several languages and dialects, speakers of which were available in and near Peshawar. This work was continued, during a short stay in Peshawar and a few days' tour in the southern districts of the North-West Frontier Province, in September, after my return from Chitral.

Through the courtesy of the military authorities I got permission to pass through Waziristan, and to visit Razmak, the huge cantonment which dominates this most unruly part of the Borderland. Till a few years ago Waziristan was altogether inaccessible to the ordinary traveller. But for the present the Wazir appears to have submitted to the blessings of peace, and, instead of raiding his better off neighbours, supplements the yields of his inhospitable country by taking service in the levies or working at the new roads which are being built in order to pacify the country. Even now, however, one is not allowed to depart from the military road, and the strong village towers show the necessity of being prepared for defence.

Ormuri. Nor would the military authorities take the responsibility of letting me visit Kaniguram, the home of one section of the Ormur tribe. But in Razmak, and also in Peshawar, I had occasion to collect some additional material[1] about the Kaniguram dialect of this interesting

[1] Published in N.T.S., V.

Iranian language, thus supplementing the account given by Grierson in the LSI., and my own description of the Logar dialect.[1]

Pashto.

In Razmak I also made linguistic inquiries from Waziri Pathans, and in Daraband, in the Dera Ismail Khan District, I got hold of a levy soldier speaking the Sherani dialect referred to above.[2]

The material from various Psht. dialects, Afridi, Bangash, Ghilzai etc., which I collected in Peshawar and other places along the Frontier, will be discussed in detail in another publication.

As mentioned above, the dialectical variety of Psht. is far greater than that of Bal. And among the Afghans, the nomadic Ghilzais and the comparatively recent invadors of Peshawar, Swat etc. show the least amount of dialectical variation, while the central part of the Pashto speaking territory is the one which is most split up into different dialects.

If we consider only the phonetical differences, which are easier to summarize than morphological and lexical facts, we find the following main points of distinction between the dialects of Psht.

1) The well-known contrast between 'soft' and 'hard' Psht., i. e. between those southern and western dialects which preserve ancient *ṣ̌* and *ẓ̌* (or change them into *ś*, *ž*), and the north-eastern ones which develop these sounds into *x* and *g*. The central Ghilzai dialects form a transitional group with *x̌*, γ̌ or *x̌*, *g*.

Most probably the tendency towards velarization arose among the Yusufzais and Mohmands, and spread from them to the neighbouring tribes. When the orthography of Psht. was fixed in the 16th century, the distinction between *ṣ̌*, *ẓ̌* and *x*, *g* seems still to have been preserved even among the north-eastern tribes, who were probably the creators of Psht. literature. It may be noticed that a similar velarization of *ṣ̌*, *ẓ̌* is found in some neighbouring Dardic dialects.

[1] Parachi and Ormuri, Indo Iranian Frontier Languages I.

[2] P. 11.

2) In the east-central dialects, from Afridi to Waziri, there is a tendency towards a change of the vowel system. In those Waziri and Bannu dialects where this tendency is carried through most radically, we find *ō*, *ē*, *ī* for ordinary Psht. *ā*, *ō*, *ū*, and frequently *ā* or *ē* for *a*. From this centre of radiation the tendency has spread, and has affected also 'hard' dialects, such as Afridi and Bangash. It is an interesting fact that the tribes whose dialects present these peculiarities, are, according to tradition, of a different genealogical descent than the rest of the Afghan tribes.[1]

The majority of Psht. loanwords in Orm. have the ordinary Psht. vowels, and not those of the neighbouring Waziri. This would seem to indicate that the sound-change is not of very great antiquity.[2]

3) The assimilation of the dental affricates *c*, *j* into *s*, *z* appears in many north-eastern dialects, and also in Bannuchi. To a great extent the same dialects have *j* < *ž*. All these changes tend to eliminate sounds foreign to the neighbouring I.A. languages[3], and are probably due to their influence, if not necessarily to an Indian substratum.

4) The palatalization in Psht. is a very complex phenomenon which cannot be discussed exhaustively here. In some words the palatalization is common Psht., e. g. in *čāṛə* 'knife' < **kartyā-*, but perhaps the 'ur- Psht.' form was still **k'āṛ'ə*. In other cases the dialects differ widely, cf. e. g. *māšai*, *myāsai*, *māsai*, *mēsai*, 'mosquito'; *wlēšt*, *lwēst*, *lwašt*, *lwast* etc. 'span'; *mɛndē*, *maindē*, *myāndē*, *miandiē*, *mand'ē*, *mandē*, *myɛndi* 'mothers'. The geographical distribution of these forms is rather complicated. A comparatively archaic stage of development seems to be represented by some Ghilzai dialects, where all con-

[1] Cf. Ehrengabe f. W. Geiger. p. 291.

[2] Acc. to tradition the Wazirs expelled the Ormurs from the hills north of Tochi in the 14th century.

[3] Through the influence of Prs. and Ar. loanwords, *z* has become partially adopted into the phonetical system of the n.w. I.A. group.

sonants are regularly being palatalized before palatal vowels, e. g. *x̌əja* ‘woman’, pl. *x̌əj'e*; *sāŋga* ‘spear’, pl. *sāŋ'g'e*. But in these dialects the palatalization has probably been lost before a back vowel, e. g. in *man'd'ē* < **m'an'd'ē*.

In other dialects the palatalization has either been given up, or has led to the development of palatal consonants or diphthongs, and of sounds of the *ś*- type. But nowhere else there exists a systematical distinction between palatalized and unpalatalized consonants.

5) Assimilation, dissimilation and metathesis in groups of consonants are of very common occurrence in Psht., but the results of these processes differ from dialect to dialect. Thus we find e. g. *nwar*, *nōr*, *l*(^{ə})*mar*, (*a*)*lmēr*, *n*(^{ə})*mar*, *m*(*y*)*ēr* ‘sun’; *gumanz*, *maŋgaz*, *egmenz*, *žmanz* *γ̌monz*, *wženz* ‘comb’; *lam*(*b*)*da*, *landa*, *launda*, *nanda*, *nauda*, *nabda* ‘wet’ (f. sg.) etc. A number of very commonly used words are affected by this type of changes of consonants in mutual contact, and they contribute largely towards giving the various dialects a different aspect. But the distribution of the forms is too complicated to be described in this short survey.

*

During my stay in Peshawar I got into touch with speakers of several unknown, or little known, Dardic dialects.

Two Kohistanis were sent to me from Naushehra through the courtesy of one of the Kaka Khel timber merchants, who on account of the reputed sanctity of their clan have been able to carry on business, and to monopolize the timber trade among tribes who admit no other foreigners within their territory.

One of these men came from Palēs on the Indus, and spoke a dialect of Shina, the other was a Torwali from Gaṛai in the Swat Kohistan. The material which I was able to collect during a few hours' conversation with him has been published, as a supplement to the account of the dialect given by Stein and Grierson, in the Acta Orientalia.[1] **Torwali.**

[1] VIII, 294 sqq.

Tirahi. Another Dardic dialect which I made efforts to secure some specimens of, was Tirahi. It is now spoken in a few villages in Afghanistan, south-east of Jalalabad, the inhabitants of which were expelled from Tirāh by the Afridi Pathans some hundred years ago.

A short vocabulary of Tirahi was published by Leech in 1838[1]; but our knowledge of the dialect up till now chiefly rests on the material collected by Stein and published by Grierson.[2] It is of interest to note that although Tirahi is spoken within some 20 or 30 miles of the Indian frontier, and near the great route leading from Peshawar to Kabul, it was only after several unsuccessful attempts that Stein, though assisted in his search by the local authorities, was able to get hold of a speaker of Tirahi. Some of the very best authorities on the Frontier and its tribes, including Sir G. Roos-Keppel, at that time Political Agent Khyber, even denied the very existence of the language.

In spite of the disturbed conditions in Afghanistan I was, however, fortunate enough to get hold of a Tirahi, who was fetched by my emissary right through the fighting Shinwaris to the west of the Khyber.

My Tirahi informant proved to be rather a disappointment. He was old and nearly toothless, very slow-minded, and rather short-tempered. It was impossible to get much grammatical information out of him, and my impending departure for Chitral prevented me from getting hold of another Tirahi. But the vocabulary which I contrived to write down, contains a number of words not previously noted, and several corrections of the forms given in the LSI. My material will be published in the Acta Orientalia in a near future.

The chief interest of Tirahi lies in its occupying an intermediate position between the westernmost Dardic language Pashai and the more eastern Kohistani dialects.

[1] JASB. VII, 783 f., and in Vocabularies of seven languages spoken in the countries west of the Indus, Bombay Geogr. Soc., 1838.

[2] LSI. I, 1, 265 ff.

Especially in its vocabulary it approaches this latter group.

Tirahi, which is on all sides surrounded by Pashto, has been deeply influenced by that language. Not only is perhaps the greater part of its vocabulary of Psht. origin; but morphological elements, too, have been adopted. Such are the convenient particle *ba*, denoting the future, the obl. plur. in *-āno*, with a superadded Tir. termination *-ānosi*, and others.

Several phonetical traits, e. g. the change of *č*, *ǰ* to *c*, *z*, and of *ṣ*, *ẓ* to *x*, *γ*, do also agree with Psht. It is not probable that several important dialects of Psht. should have been influenced by the receding Tir., and we must assume that these phonetical changes have spread from Psht. to Tirahi, bilingual Tirahis adopting Psht. words with Psht. pronunciation, and gradually introducing the sounds of the more important language into genuine Tirahi words, too.

One curious Tir. word ought to be noticed. The resemblance between *kuzᵊra* 'horse' and Tamil *kudirei* and other Dravidian words is too striking to be accidental. But how and when this word has got into Tir. is altogether unknown. Cf. also *baṛē* 'mare': Skt. *vaḍabā* which seems to be of non-Aryan origin.

In Peshawar I also met again the Ashkun Kafir from Majegal with whom I had worked for a few hours in 1924[1]. I went through the already published vocabulary and grammar with him, adding considerably to it and correcting it. I also took down some texts and grammophone records in his dialect. The new material does not, however, alter the general impression of the linguistic position of Ashkun. **Ashkun.**

A great part of my time in Peshawar was devoted to a survey of the Pashai dialects, especially those spoken in the side valleys of the Kunar river. As already mentioned[2], Pashai is split up into .. great number of **Pashai.**

[1] Cf. The Language of the Ashkun Kafirs. NTS. II, 192—289.

[2] Report, 84 sqq.

widely diverging and mutually unintelligible dialects; and one of the chief phonetical characteristics on which a grouping of them can be based, is the different treatment of groups consisting of a consonant $+r$. The discovery of several previously unknown dialects of Pashai revealed a much greater variety and more complicated phonetical developments than suspected before.

One of my informants came from Sadar Kala in *Laghman*. His dialect was essentially of the same type as the Laghmani mentioned Report p. 86.

But *tr* and *kr* both result in ϑ̣λ̣ : *ϑ̣λ̣ē* '3', *ϑ̣λ̣ām* 'work'. *ṣ̌* > *x* : *axṭ* '8', *xuṛiŋ* 'dog' (< **ṣuṇiŋg* with *ṣ*-, instead of *ś*-!); before front-vowels *x̌* : *x̌īr* 'milk' (*šīr* 'head'), *x̌ē* '6' (but the loan-word *xɛrs* 'bear').

The material furnished by a man from Tapakāl in *Parazhghān*, at the head of the Alishang valley above Laghman, sufficed to show that this dialect agrees in all essentials with the neighbouring one of Najil.[1]

From the *Darra-i-Nūr* I had two informants, one from Lamaṭek at the head of the valley, the other from Qala-i-Shāhid (*Xalšai*) further down. From the former I wrote down a short vocabulary; but from the dialect of the other I collected more extensive material. It agrees with the Darra-i-Nūr dialect studied in 1924; but in Lamaṭek *ś* and *ṣ* have coalesced into *ṣ̌*.

The dialect of *Wēgal* (*Wēgäl*, *Wīgγäl*), of which I got a vocabulary and a few texts from a man from Duderek, is identical with the 'Waigel' dialect mentioned in the Report. It was, however, ascertained that it is not being spoken in the Waigel valley in Kafiristan, but in a small valley to the west of Darra-i-Nūr (Damench?). It is astonishing how many isoglotts separate the Wegal dialect from the neighbouring one of Darra-i-Nūr, e. g. *š* > *s*, *kh* > *x*, -*g*- > -γ-, *y*- > *ž*- and *ū* > *ǖ*, the Darra-i-Nūr dialect being in all particulars the more archaic one.

But the linguistic geography of Eastern Pashai becomes more complicated when we consider the *Kuṛangal*

[1] V. Report, Sketch Map of Pashai Dialects.

dialect which is spoken high up the Pech river, above Kuṛdar.

This dialect has *ū*, *ś* and *y-* in accordance with Darra-i-Nūrī, but it agrees with Wēgalī in changing *kh* to *ḥ*. It follows the W. Pash. dialects of Najil and Özbin in rounding *ā* into *ō*, and in having (except in *ṣē̃* '16') *ch* and not *ṣ* < *kṣ*. And, while this dialect agrees with other E. Pash. dialects in developing groups of plosives + *r* into ϑλ and *l*, an ancient *kr* apparently results in *s-* in *suŋgalī* 'mulberry'.[1]

Closely allied to Kuṛangalī is *Chilāsī*, spoken in the hills on the upper Chauki Darra. In this dialect, however, the word for 'mulberry' is *ϑluōlī*.

A more independent position is occupied by the dialect of *Arēt*, on the western branch of the river above Ghāziābād, on the Mazār Darra. This dialect follows Kuṛangalī as regards *ś*, *x* (*ḥ*), *ō*, *ū* and *ch*; but it has *č*, not *c*, like Darra-i-Nūrī, and agrees with Wēgalī in developing *y-* into *ž-*.

But the most important characteristic of Arētī concerns the treatment of groups of consonants with *r*. Like the W. Pashai dialects, but differing from all other forms of E. Pashai, it retains *tr*, *sr*, *str*, and *dr* (*putrɜ* 'son', *drīi* 'long', *ōostr* 'blood', *trīk* 'female', *mastrak* 'brain'). *Pr* (*pl*) and *kr* both result in *pl*: *plēič* 'flea', *plō* 'spleen', *plāb* 'dream' (< **prāp* < * *sprāp* < **svāpra-*), and also *plom* 'work', *plōalek* 'mulberry'. But while *b*(*h*)*r*, *mr* become *bl* (*blå* 'brother', *blīk* 'dead'), *gr* results in ᵟ*l*, *l̄*, a peculiar, extended *l*, probably with an initial fricative element (ᵟ*lom* 'village', *l̄enī* 'spark'). To some extent this development resembles that of the Majegal dialect of Ashkun, which has *tr*, *dr*, but *pl*, *kl*, *bl*, *gl*. Through this stage Areti, too, must have passed, with subsequent elimination of the groups guttural + *l*, which were unstable on account of the distance between the points of articulations in the two sounds, *pl* being substituted for *kl*,

[1] I found no other word containing an ancient *kr-*, and in *suŋgalī* the resulting *s-* may be due to special causes.

but *gl* losing its occlusion and becoming a long *l*, from which *ᵟl* developed through segmentation.

The vocabulary of Areti presents some similarities with that of the Kafir languages. The Pashai-speaking tribes of these small valleys have remained pagan till quite recent times, and have probably had much intercourse with the true Kafirs, and mixed with them.

I did not get hold of any speaker of the Kuṛdar dialect; but the few numerals communicated by my Kuṛangal informant seem to show that this dialect resembles Areti. A special language, the so-called *Žimakē żiba*, probably also a dialect of Pashai, was said to be spoken in Gṛaŋgal.

In some of the Pash. dialects the aspiration of tenues is retained, in others *kh* results in *x*, *ḥ*. In others, again, no aspiration is actually heard; but it has left a trace behind in the rising tone of the following vowel, e. g. *ká*ⁿ*ṭ* 'bed' < *khāṭ*; *ṡí*ⁱ*r* 'milk', *ṡìr* 'head'. Similarly after original aspirated media, e. g. Qala-i-Shāhid *dá*ᵃ*r* 'hill' < **dhara-*, *dǎr* 'wood' < *dāru-*.[1]

But in spite of all dialectical differences, which are by no means limited to the few phonetical features mentioned above, Pashai is decidedly one language, well defined through phonetical, and especially through morphological and lexical peculiarities.

Shumashti. Heavily overlaid with Pashai elements, but in its base connected with another Dardic tongue, is the dialect of Upper *Shumasht* (*Bʌr Šumáṣṭ*), above Ghāziābād, between Chilās and Arēt. It is in fact an offshoot of Gawar-Bati, which is spoken some sixty miles further up the Kunar River, on the Chitral frontier.

The character of the dialect will appear from the following short list of words.

	Shumashti	Gawar Bati	Pashai (Chilas)
1	*yäk*	*yɔk*	*yė*
4	*cȯ*ᵘ̯*ur*	*cūr*	*cōr*
10	*däs*	*dɔś*	*dāe*

[1] Cf. J. Bloch, L'intonation en Penjabi (Mél. lingu. offerts á. M. J. Vendryes, pp. 57 ff.).

	Shumashti	Gawar Bati	Pashai (Chilas)
11	*zās*	*jās*	*yōe*
12	*bās*	*bās*	*dōe*
13	*ϑλāṷʌs*	*λəṷās*	*ϑλui*
19	*uṇusī*	*inīs*	*nəviṷ*
20	*isī*	*isī*	*vist*
hair	*kiẽs*	*khēs*	*cōl*
daughter	*zū*	*zū*	*oyā*
water	*ṷō*	*aū*	*varᵏk*
grape	*lāk*	*lāk*	*deṡik*
road	*pōt*	*phənt*	*pan*

The conjugation of verbs and other morphological features also agree with G.B., and not with Pash. The personal ending 1 pl. in *-mas* is, however, a more archaic form than the G.B. one in *-ek* (Shum. *inamas* 'we are' : G.B. *thanek*). Cf. Kalasha of Urtsun *kārimis* 'we do': Northern Kal. *kārik*.

There can be no doubt that Shum. is a dialect of G.B., with a strong admixture of Pash. elements, and not an intermediate link between the two languages. But G.B. itself occupies a transitional position between Pashai and the Kohistan dialects. My informant did not, however, know anything about the Shumashtis having immigrated from the present Gawar territory, and it is quite possible that the two branches of the tribe separated already at the time of the emigration from Bajaur.[1]

These remarks will suffice to give some impression of the extreme linguistic variety of the lower Kunar district. The dialects of these valleys would certainly amply repay a more thorough study than I was able to devote to them. At this part of the frontier it is perhaps still possible to discover new languages, or, at any rate, important dialects.

[1] V. below, p. 61.

PESHAWAR TO CHITRAL

On April 25th I left Peshawar for Chitral. Up to Sado, in Lower Dir, it was possible to go in a motor-lorry. From there the transport by means of mules and donkeys, and across the Lowarai Pass by coolies, had to be arranged through the kind assistance of the Political Agent, Malakand, who also permitted me to cross the Lowarai before it was officially opened for the summer, and allowed me to stay in the small levy forts along the bridle path. While enjoying the hospitality of his bungalow in Malakand, I heard from his chaukidar about a rock inscription existing near the village of Miān Bṛangolai, on the northern bank of the Swat River, due north of Malakand, and said to be written in an alphabet differing from the Arabic one. As far as I know, this inscription has not been studied or published.

From the Malakand Pass the road to Chitral leads through the Pathan states of Swat and Dir. While the most important part of Swat consists of a broad and fertile, densely cultivated plain, the population of Dir is scattered in small villages situated along the Panjkora and its affluents. In Swat conditions are becoming modernized to some extent; motor-bus'es connect the lower part of the valley with the Peshawar district, and the energetic ruler is making vigorous efforts for the development of the country.[1]

Dir is still outside the range of motor traffic, and

[1] Cf. Sir A. Stein. On Alexander's Track to the Indus, passim.

the political and social conditions are more backward than is the case in Swat. In Dir the peculiar Pathan custom of 'wesh' or periodical redistribution of land among the families and clans still prevails. One of the members of my escort told me that he was born in one village. When he was a few years old his clan had moved to another, and now, 25 years after, they were going to exchange it for a third village, belonging to his tribe. In the meantime his family had exchanged fields with other members of the same clan and inhabiting the same village, every five years.

But it is not only in modern times that the geographical position and nature of Swat has favoured a more advanced stage of civilization than that found in Dir.

The marvellous richness of Swat in Buddhist remains is well known. In Dir, if we abstract from the disputed border-valley of Talash, no ancient monuments have been found up to now; but Buddhist civilization certainly extended into these regions too.

Ruins were pointed out to me high up on the hill-side on the eastern bank of the Panjkora between Robat and Waṛai; but I could not spare time to examine them. I did, however, visit some remains of buildings at Miyāna in Sāldārāi, a few miles south of Daroṛa Fort, on the steep slopes of the Usherai River and high above the present Pathan village and cultivation. The ruins consisted of a great number of foundation- and terracing walls built of large, roughly hewn stones. No ornaments of any kind were seen, and an inscription which was said to be found on a large boulder near the river, proved to be only a rough carving, consisting of quite irregular lines.

During the short time at my disposal before sunset I could only make a rapid survey of the ruins, and I collected a number of pottery fragments with painted ornaments.[1] My guides from the neighbourhood told me

[1] Handed over by me in Chitral to Dr Guha for examination by some member of the Archaeological Survey.

that iron arrowheads, with two barbs on each side, had been found on the site.

It is impossible to say anything about the age of these remains. The walls were certainly better built than those of the neighbouring Pathan villages, and the present population professed to know nothing about the origin of the ruins, but supposed them to be the castle of a Kafir king. A fairytale related how an old man from one of the Bashkarik villages in the Dir Kohistan tried to find a treasure buried here by one of his forefathers. And it is quite possible that these ruins do in fact belong to the pre-Pathan, 'Kāfir' population, the remains of which are represented by the Bashkariks. Their expulsion from the country near Daroṛa took place only a few centuries ago, and we need not assign any higher date to the ruins in question. The only fact of interest to be learnt from them, without further investigations or excavations, is that buildings in this region seem to have been better constructed in pre-Pathan times.

Bashkarik. I stayed in the village of Dir, the capital of the state, for two days, spending the time in collecting a vocabulary of Bashkarik. This Dardic dialect is spoken, with apparently slight variation, in several villages in the Dir Kohistan.[1] The 'Dīrī' of which Leech has published a vocabulary, and which the LSI. (VIII, II, p. 2) provisionally places in the 'Kalasha-Pashai Sub-Group' of Dardic, is simply a form of Bashkarik.[2]

[1] *Siriŋgal* and *Damdarhāl* are now Pashto-speaking. But Bashk. is spoken in *Rāškōṭ*, *J̌iár*, *Pīód*, *Kalkōṭ*, *Kinolā́m* and *Thʌl*; the Psht. names are: *Patrak*, *Bīā́ṛ* (< **Brīāṛ*), *Birkóṭ*, *Kalkōṭ*, *Lámuṭäi*, and *Thʌl*. In the side-valley of *Aširet* Palula (v. below p. 54) is spoken; but Bashk. is found in the three uppermost villages of the Swat Kohistan, viz. *Kalám*, *Uṣū́* and *Utrōṭ*, as already stated by Biddulph and by Stein (Tōrwālī, p. 6).

[2] It is doubtful whether some of the forms given by Leech, e. g. *nob* '9', *biyàhà* '12' are more archaic than those heard by Biddulph and myself fifty and hundred years later (B.: *nom*, *báhá*, ego: *num*, *bāh*). Leech's notations are evidently very imperfect, cf. e. g. *shat* '7'. *sheesh* 'head' is not recorded by Biddulph (*tōs*), or myself (*thōs*), but may quite well be existing in the language.

In some respects Bashk. occupies an intermediate position between Torwali, the other Kohistan dialects and Shina to the east, and Gawar Bati to the west. Thus Bashk. and G.B. agree in treating groups of dentals and gutturals + *r* in the same manner, *tr*, *kr* resulting in λ, and *dr*, *gr* in *l*. *Pr*, *b(h)r* become *pl*, *bl* in G. B., but *č*, *ǰ* in Bashk. In Torwali, on the other hand, we find *ç*, *j̣* from *tr*, *dr*, but, apparently *p*, *b(h)*, *k*, *g* from *pr*, *b(h)r*, *kr*, *gr*.

Examples from Bashk. are: *tr* in *λā* 'three', *puλ* 'son'; *kr* in *λam* 'work'; *dr* in *lā̀c̣h* 'grape', *ūl* 'otter', *līc̣h* 'saw'; *gr* in *lām* 'village'; *pr* in *čiš* 'mother-in-law', *čā'ṣ* 'flea', *čūž-* 'to awaken' (*pra-budhya-*); *bhr* in *ǰā* 'brother'; *ǰiǰ* 'birch'.

Aspiration of mediae is not heard in Bashk., but it has left a trace in the low, rising tone, as is the case in Pashai and in Khowar.[1] E. g. *kā'n* 'arrow' < *kāṇḍa-*, with high, falling tone and closure of the glottis, but *kā̀n* 'shoulder' < *skandha-*; *gṑ* 'bull', but *gā́* 'grass', *gṓr* 'horse'; *dū̀* '2', but *dū́i* 'daughter', etc.

From Dir I crossed the Lowarai Pass, which forms the boundary between the states of Dir and Chitral. Although this pass is not much more than 10 000 feet high, the northern, or Chitral, slopes are very much exposed to lavines in winter and spring, and communication is often interrupted for considerable time. The Lowarai is also an important ethnographical boundary. The Pathans have penetrated, or at any rate imposed their language on the population, right up to the southern side of the pass, but with very small exceptions not beyond it.

When I recrossed the Lowarai on my way down in September, numerous Mohmand nomads were camping with their camels among the pines near Gujar Post on the southern side of the pass. They said that they used to spend the summer up here, but that they never crossed the Lowarai. In fact camels are never seen in Chitral,

[1] Cf. pp. 24, and 49.

and the country is unsuited for tribes dependent on these animals.

The view of Chitral which one gets from the top of the pass is that of a wild, alpine country with narrow, fissure-like valleys, a reef of refuge for ancient tribes, but not a thoroughfare for invaders.

From Ziarat, the first levy-post on the Chitral side of the Lowarai, I walked the next morning through the pine-forest down the Ashret valley to Mirkhandi on the Chitral River, accompanied by an Ashreti whom I asked about the names of plants and natural objects. The day was spent at Mirkhandi in making a preliminary survey of the Ashreti or Palula language, which will be described below (p. 54 sqq.).

Here, and the following day in Drosh, I also had occasion to collect some information about the dialect spoken by the 'shēkhs' or converted Kafir immigrants from Bashgal who have settled in several villages below Drosh. Their language is locally called Shēkhānī. One of my informants had been in the service of Sir George Robertson in Kamdesh in 1894.

WORK IN CHITRAL

On May 3rd I rode up the valley from Drosh to Chitral village, the capital of the state. In this place I stayed altogether for more than two months. For some days I was the guest of H. H. the Mehtar, whose government gave me every kind of assistance in my work, and who together with his sons took an active interest in my investigation of the linguistic conditions of his country. Most of the time I lived in the bungalow of the Assistant Political Agent, who kindly put a room at my disposal and helped me in every way, and I was allowed to join the mess of the two officers of the Chitral Scouts, who had a thorough knowledge of the country and gave me much valuable information and assistance.

In Chitral village I had occasion to study a number of languages and dialects spoken in Chitral or beyond its borders. Some remarks on these languages and their relationship will be given later. In this connection I shall only say a few words about the methods and accidents of my work.

Besides members of various tribes inhabiting Chitral who came to the capital and its bazar[1] for trading, or to bring their salaams or their petitions before the Mehtar, several persons were brought to me from different parts of the country through the kind assistance of H.H.'s government. One of my informants, an inhabitant of the village of Damel, was in jail in Chitral, and

[1] There is no bazar in Chitral above the capital.

the poor man was brought to me in chains, escorted by two soldiers. Whether he was allowed by them to keep much of the bakhshish I gave him, I cannot tell.

From beyond the Hindu Kush passes a constant stream of traders comes down to Chitral. The two most important passes are the Dorah in the north-western, and the Baroghil in the north-eastern corner of Chitral. But communication with the north is by no means restricted to these comparatively easy passes, and in spite of snow-blindness and dangers many lightly ecquipped travellers use the higher and much more difficult passes to the north of the Dorah in order to save a day or two. But these passes have scarcely ever been used by invaders.

Across the Baroghil came Wakhis, but chiefly traders and pilgrims from Chinese Turkestan. The traders from Munjan, who used the Dorah Pass, did chiefly bring blocks of reddish rock-salt and lapis lazuli from the mines belonging to the Afghan government, but exploited by the local population during the rebellion in 1929. Chitral is a local emporium of some importance in these regions. While several caravans from Badakhshan carrying rugs, Russian china etc. passed through Chitral on their way to Peshawar, the local traders from Munjan and neighbouring valleys rarely go further than Chitral, but dispose of their goods there.

Usually these peasant-traders from Munjan, Sanglech or Wakhan, whose dialects I wished to study, stayed only for a day or two in Chitral, and wanted to hurry back to their farm-work as quickly as possible. It was often difficult to persuade them to stay for a few days more, even if good pay was offered. On one occasion my servant Yasin, on his own initiative, induced the merchants in the bazar not to buy the salt brought by a certain Munji for a few days, until I had to some extent been able to satisfy my curiosity as regards his dialect. I do not think, however, that he suffered any financial loss through his somewhat prolonged stay in Chitral.

From Wakhan and other parts of Badakhshan, and also from the valleys of Afghan Kafiristan, there came to Chitral chiefs and headmen who wanted to pay their respects to the Mehtar, and one was reminded, during the crisis which seemed to threaten the political unity of Afghanistan, that Chitral had for ages been a centre of some importance among the tribes of the Hindu Kush.

The Afghan general of Kafir birth, Abdul Vakil Khan, who had greatly helped me in my search for Kafirs in Kabul in 1924, had been forced to take refuge in his native valley of Ktiwi after the defeat of King Amanullah. Here he carried on a private war with the Kam tribe of the lower Bashgal valley. This did not, however, prevent our corresponding through messengers, and he kindly arranged for quite an intelligent Prasun man to visit me in Chitral.

Before that time I had already got hold of other Prasuns. One of them was the very 'shepherd of considerable stupidity'[1] who in 1899 through the medium of Bashgali and Chitrali interpreters had furnished Abdul Karim Khan with the material about Prasun published in the LSI. This Prasun man had lived for some forty years in Bumboret in Chitral, and neither his intelligence nor his knowledge of his mother-tongue had improved since 1899, and it was impossible to get much reliable information out of him.

A second Prasun turned up one day while I was staying in Chitral village. He had in his home valley heard rumors about a mad sahib who paid good money in exchange for strange words. And as he wanted very badly to buy a new coat, he had walked across the high passes to Bargrómatal and from there on to Chitral to see me. It seemed to me only natural that he should resemble in type the Prasun I had worked with for a couple of hours in Kabul in 1924.

And it was not till he had been with me for a

[1] LSI, VIII, 2. 59.

couple of days, that he told that he actually *was* the same man, and that he had been quite surprised to see me again. It also turned out that in Kabul in 1924 somebody had warned him against giving me any further information, and that this was the reason why he had suddenly run away from the prospect of getting a good bakhshish.

He was, however, not easy to work with, as he knew very little Persian and not much Kati. I may perhaps be excused for mentioning a small, but characteristic episode from my work with him. Once I tried for half an hour to get the Prasun word for 'egg' out of him. He did not understand my explanations, and did not know the word in any of the neighbouring languages, nor did it help when I showed him a round, white stone of suitable size and imitated the cackling of a hen as best I could. Not till my servant came back and brought me a real egg did he grasp the idea.

In these circumstances it was not easy to get even the outlines of the very complicated grammatical system of the language out of him in the course of the short time he was willing to stay with me.

Another native of Afghan Kafiristan whom I met and worked with, was a Waigeli, who had killed a man in his home village and eloped with his wife, and had taken refuge in Bumboret on the Chitral side. Now he had stayed there for several years, and had managed to scrape together the sum needed for the blood-money and for the wife. So he intended to return to Waigel within a short time.

From Arandu, the southernmost village in Chitral, several Gawars came to work with me. To one of them, an elderly man whose name was Mirza Ali Shah, I happened to read out the short Gawar Bati anecdote published in the LSI. When he heard it, he smiled proudly and confessed that he was the man who had furnished Abdul Karim Khan with the Gawar Bati material for the LSI., and who had told him the story.

While staying in Chitral I took down a number of grammophone records, short lists of words and texts, in Khowar, Kalasha, Gawar Bati, Palula, Dameli, Kati, Prasun, Munji, Yidgha, Sanglechi and Wakhi, including some Kati religious hymns sung by the old priest who was the only person who still remembered them.

Lonkuchiwar. Finally I must mention one informant whose language it did not take me long to get sufficiently acquainted with. Biddulph and other authors mention a peculiar language, incomprehensible to the neighbours, which is spoken in Lonkuh village in the Terich valley. There seemed to be a slight possibility of this Lonkuchiwar language being related to Burushaski, so I got hold of a man from the village. His 'language', however, proved to be a mere corruption of Khowar, of the usual secret language type like the 'Zargarī' or goldsmiths' slang of Afghanistan, etc. Thus the first ten numerals were: *yih, yūč, roit, rōċ, ċomb, yoç, thos, thoṣṭ, yon, yoċ* (Khow. *ī, ǰū, troi, čōr, ponč, ç̣hoi, sot, oṣṭ, nyoh, ǰoš*). Cf. also *pakál* 'head', *ǰäk* 'eye', *γudū́r* 'nail', *thos* 'hand', *komb* 'foot' (Khow. *kapal, γeċ, duγūr, host, poŋg*).

I also had occasion to converse with a Burushaski-speaking native of Hunza, and a man from Yasin whose mother-tongue was the closely related Werchikwar dialect. I knew, however, that Col. Lorimer had collected very extensive material[1] about the isolated and interesting, but very complicated Burushaski language, and I confined myself to trying to get an impression of the relation between the phonetical systems of Burushaski and the neighbouring I.A. languages.

[1] Col. Lorimer's material is now being published by the Institute for Comparative Research in Human Culture.

TOURS IN CHITRAL

From Chitral proper I visited different parts of the country. A few days after my first arrival in the capital I left for Rumbur, in order to be present at the spring festival of the Kalashas of that valley.

From Orghuch, a few miles below Chitral Fort, a steep pass, called in Khowar *Kalaṣgumo An* 'The Kalash-gum Hill',[1] leads to the valleys inhabited by Kafirs. From the top of the hill one gets a very good view of the topographical character of the side-valleys inhabited by Kafirs, and especially of the narrow gorges of the Rumbur Valley, which only in a few places widens out a little and leaves room for cultivation. From about 7000 up to 10000 feet the hillsides are covered with forests of conifers, lower down the most characteristic tree is the holly oak.

In Rumbur I stayed for about a week, starting the study of Kalasha with a bright and friendly young man, Mahmad Isa, who later on came down to Chitral. In spite of his name he was a convinced adherent of the ancient creed, and often was heard discussing questions of religion with my Muhammedan servants. The whole village of Rumbur has remained pagan, with the single exception of one of Mahmad Isa's sisters who had been

[1] With *Kalaṣ-gum* 'Kalash country' cf. the local Werchikwar name of Yasīn, *Wərči-gūm*, called *Buršu-gvm* in Burushaski of Hunza. The name of a district in Kafiristan, to the east of Waigel, and, acc. to Lumsden, containing three villages, is *Traieguma*. I do not know to which language this word for 'land, district' originally belongs.

married to a Muhammedan. Also the other Kalasha villages in the side valleys have resisted the advance of Islam, while those situated in the main valley of Chitral have all become converted.

The Joshi festival, which I attended, is the second in importance among the Kalasha festivals, the first being the *Čaumos*, or 'Four-(Days'-)Meat', which is celebrated in December. The Joshi lasted for nearly three days, and as far as possible I was present at all the different dances, sacrifices and other ceremonies, some of which took place at night. I wrote down a number of short hymns and took photos and cinema pictures of several of the ceremonies. No European, as far as I know, had ever been present at this Kalasha religious festival, but the Kafirs did not show any aversion to let me watch the whole programme, and I was invited to take part in some of the ceremonies, to eat of the sacrificial food etc.

A description of the festival, together with an account of what I was able to gather about their other festivals and their religion in general, will be published separately.

I shall here mention only the weirdest and most impressive part of the whole festival, which took place on the third day.

The whole population of the village assembled on the *grī*, or dancing ground, near the edge of a precipice, and each person seized a walnut-branch from heaps which had been gathered by the young men. The priest and his assistant ascended to the altar a little higher up the hillside, and chanted hymns and performed various rites, while the congregation swung their branches, shouting wildly. I was invited to seize a branch and take part in the ceremony; but I preferred to retire, together with a couple of Muhammedans present, to a small hillock in the rear of the assembly. Viewed from there the crowd brandishing the branches over their heads looked like a forest shaken by a strong wind.

Suddenly the priest stepped near to the edge, and flung his branch over the cliff. The whole congregation

followed his example, and a cloud of branches whirled through the air and down the precipice.

The purpose of this ceremony was to drive away the ancestral spirits and demons who had hovered near the village during the three days of the festival, but whose presence was not wanted in ordinary times. Then they must retire to their appointed places, the graves and demon-altars in the dark groves on the hillside.

The religion of the Kalashas had never been studied before, and it was believed in Europe that they had all become Muhammedans.[1] The officers stationed in Chitral, of course, knew better, but no account of the Kalasha religion had been published.

Most of the gods of the Kalasha Pantheon correspond to those of the Katis, but the names differ. Thus the Kati gods *Imrå*,[2] *Mōn*, *Bagiṣṭ*, *Disăr'i* and *Nirmali* are identified with Kalasha *Dēzau* (*Dēzāl-*), *Mahandēu*, *Sajigōr*, *Ješṭak*, and *Dēzālik*. The Kalashas do not, however, have any War God corresponding to Kati *Gyīṣ*, *Giwīṣ*,[3] and they have several gods not known to the Katis. Besides, the character of the Creator, *Dēzau* differs somewhat from that of *Imrå*. He has no altar, and no sacrifices or regular prayers are offered to him, and the whole conception seems to be at the same time more exalted and more shadowy than that of Imrå.

But the question of the relationship between the religions of the two tribes, and the possible influence of Islam in recent times will be discussed in the publication mentioned above. Nor is it possible here to give any account of the relation between the mythology of the Kafir tribes and the ancient forms of Hinduism with which it is connected, or by which it has been influenced before Islam cut the Kafirs off from Hindu India. The Kafir religion contains elements of very different age.

[1] Cf. e. g. LSI, I, 1, p. 110 (publ. 1927): 'They (the Kalashas) are not 'Kāfirs' in the strict sense of the word, as they have adopted the Muhammedan religion, —'.

[2] < *Yamarāja-*, v. Lassen, Ind. Alterthumsk. I, 438[2].

[3] A name which probably goes back to Vedic times.

From Rumbur I went, in the second half of May, to the Bumboret valley. At this time of the year when the rickety single-pole bridges carried away by the spring flood have not yet been replaced, the communication between the Kafir valleys is still more difficult than usual. In this case my coolies had to climb a high pass between the two valleys, while I was helped by my guides across the cliffs along the river.

The Bumboret valley is comparatively broad and fertile. In the lower part there are several Kalasha villages, and here and there one sees the house of a Chitrali settler, recognizable by the fowls, which the religion of the Kalashas and Katis does not permit them to keep. The uppermost village, Brumotul, is inhabited by Katis come over from Bargromatal in Afghan Kafiristan.

Although the Katis and Kalashas are next-door neighbours, there is a marked difference between the two tribes. The Kalashas are generally shorter and darker (or perhaps only dirtier) than the Katis, and their type of face is less 'Aryan'. Also the measurements made by Dr. Guha pointed to an antropological difference between Katis and Kalashas.

The Kalashas, a suppressed race, are humbler in their demeanour, but also gayer and more friendly. Even the men wear rows of tinkling bead-necklaces and embroidered dresses, while the women are conspicuous by their curious cowrie headdresses. The Katis look sterner and more reserved, less barbarian; their dress is simpler, and the style of their carved ornaments more restrained.

In Brumotul I stayed for about a week, working chiefly with a young Muhammedan Kati who had been a talib, or religious student, in Peshawar, but was by no means burdened by too much learning, and also with the only remaining 'deblâle' or priest of the pagan Katis. He was the only man who really knew anything about the traditions and the mythology of the Katis. But he was old,

and apparently had forgotten much that he had known in his youth.

Among other traditional matter the priest also related to me his own pedigree for not less than fifty-four generations. The first part of it was clearly mythical, and his memory of it was partly confused. But for the last thirty generations the order of the names was the same on the several occasions I questioned him. From the 13th generation from below his pedigree agreed with that of the chief of the Kunisht Katis up to the 24th generation, or so far as this latter ran. And, more remarkable, the names given for the ancestors from the 26th up to the 29th generation were essentially the same, with the expected dialectical variations of pronunciation, as those given to me in Kabul by General Abdul Vakil, the 29th generation in the priest's pedigree corresponding to the 26th in that of the general.

Abdul Vakil was a native of Ktiwi in Afghan Kafiristan, the reputed home of the whole of the Kati tribe. It is therefore not in itself surprising that chiefs and priests of different branches of the tribe should be descended from the same ancestors. But the two branches have, according to tradition, been separated for thirteen generations, and this seems to show that the pedigrees must be of considerable age, and they are probably historical at least for the last thirty generations.

In 1929 there were only about twenty grown-up pagan men left in Brumotul, and conversions to Islam are constantly made. While I was staying there, the conversion of two young men was celebrated on the Great Id festival. Faqirs from India are penetrating into these isolated valleys, and the example of the islamized Katis on the Afghan side is contributing much to the conversion of the remaining pagans in Chitral. Paganism will certainly die out with the present generation. The priest has no pupil, and when he dies, there will be no one who can keep up the ancient religious traditions.

Even now the dances and sacrifices cannot be performed to the same extent as they were when Robertson lived among the Kafirs of Kamdesh. Some years ago the blacksmith of the village, who is also the hereditary musician, turned Muhammedan, and would no longer play at the Kafir dances. The priest and some of his friends asked me to use my supposed influence with the Mehtar to petition him to let the blacksmith become a pagan again. But when I told them that I could not possibly do this, it was after all arranged that he should play at a dance where I was present. The eyes of the local mulla had been closed for the occasion with a couple of rupies. Religious fanaticism appears to be absent on both sides.

I was also present at sacrifices to *Imrà* and to *Disãri*, and took cinema pictures of the former.

One of the converted Katis in Brumotul had as a young man been in India for several years in the service of a British officer. Having learnt Hindostani he had written, in that language, an account of the religion and of the customs of his tribe and of the events which led to the emigration to Chitral by those Katis who wanted to escape the forced conversion to Islam by the Amir Abdur Rahman. I bought the manuscript from him, and it contains much valuable information, and gives an inside view of the structure of Kati society. Of a special interest is the clear account which the manuscript gives of the laws and the judicial system of the tribe.

From Brumotul I went down to Ayun and from there to Chitral. A month later I visited the Rumbur valley again, this time in company with the zoologist Dr. Chopra, and the anthropologist Dr. Guha of the Zoological Survey of India. We spent most of the time in Kunisht, the Kati village above Rumbur. I was busy in collecting information about the language and religion of the Katis, photographing dances, altars etc., and left

the study of the social customs to Dr. Guha, but to some extent collaborated with him.

From Kunisht I visited the Gangalvat Pass which leads to Bargromatal in Afghan Kafiristan. Although the pass is relatively high (16 000 feet), and even in July is covered with snow on the Chitral side, the ascent is easy. Across the Gangalvat came the Katis who in 1895 sought refuge in the Mehtar's territory, bringing with them their families and cattle, and in summer this pass is an important line of communication between the valleys.

A descent into the Upper Bashgal valley would have been easy; but owing to the strained political situation the British authorities did not want any European to cross into Afghan territory.

Below the pass are the summer pastures of the Kunisht Katis.

*

Returning to Chitral about the middle of July, I went on, after a few days, towards the north-west, up the Lutkoh valley. A couple of days' march brought me to Garm Chishma, the Hot Springs where the Mehtar has a bungalow, and where the sulphurous baths are frequented by patients from all parts of Chitral. On my way down I stayed for about a week at this place, studying Yidgha. The linguistic border between Khowar and Yidgha runs a mile or two above Garm Chishma, close to the bridge which leads to the fertile side-valley of Izh, where the Ismailia sect has its most important shrine in Chitral.

Above this bridge the Lutkoh valley widens out into a broad plain, studded with small villages belonging to the Yidgha tribe. At the upper end of this plain there is a gorge, or 'darband', leading up into the uppermost part of the Lutkoh valley, the bottom of which is to a great extent covered with low birch-forest and sweet-smelling briar.

There is only one small Yidgha hamlet here; but

higher up lies the village of Daghiri, inhabited by converted Kati refugees. This village is situated at the point where the roads to the Dorah and Nuksan passes separate. In 1892 there were at this place a few houses of 'Virron', i. e. Prasun Kafirs.[1]

Following the former route I ascended to the summer-village of Shah Salim, near the hot springs of Izhghar, 'The Snake-Stone', and about 11 000 feet above the sea. A great part of the population of Daghiri goes up here in summer in order to utilize the highest cultivable ground in the valley.

Still higher are the summer pastures with their primitive stonehuts, similar to those found in the Gangalvat valley and elsewhere. Here the men go up in summer with the cattle to make cheese, etc. The women are left behind in the valley to do the farm-work, as the herding of the cattle is considered to be too dangerous for them. There may be some truth in this statement, as there are constant feuds and raids going on between the tribes on both sides of the Afghan frontier.

Similar methods of utilizing the mountain pastures by means of chalets[2] are common among all the neighbouring tribes.[3]

Somewhat different is the case of the Gujurs, a pastoral tribe which, starting from the plains, has gradually spread over the mountainous regions north-west of India. They constantly live on a higher level than the ancient inhabitants of the district they have penetrated into, and as they have little or no cultivation, they have to exchange dairy-products for grain. In some places they have their winter settlements just above the ordinary Chitrali villages.

[1] C. G. Bruce, Twenty Years in the Himalayas p. 264.

[2] *Seter*'s in Norwegian.

[3] Regarding the summer *pshals*, or dairy-farms of the Kafirs of Kamdesh, v. Robertson, The Káfirs of the Hindu-Kush, pp. 497 ff. — Among the Pathans of Dir, and further south, the chalet is called *bāṇḍa*.

Quite another thing is also the semi-nomadism of several Afghan tribes, who possess houses, and have some cultivation in their winter homes, but who in summer live in tents in the hills, changing their pasture ground once or twice, and who often cover great distances in the course of their wanderings.

From Shah Salim I ascended the Dorah Pass (14 800 feet), one of the most important Hindu Kush passes. The Dorah is quite easy, and the distance between inhabited places on both sides is not very great. The Yidghas have come this way from Munjan; but we do not know whether any other immigration of any importance has come by the Dorah route. I returned by another pass [1] a little further south.

Below the Dorah, on the north side, lies the Dorah Lake (Lake Dufferin, *Dro Nyilə* in Kati), a hill-lake of a deep bluish-green colour, on the further side of which rise the towering mountains between Sanglech and Munjan.

Hiuan Tsang, the Chinese pilgrim who passed here in the 7th century, mentions that the lake below the Dorah Pass was infested by a terrible dragon. Popular imagination still occupies itself with this lake, and the Katis believe that it is inhabited by a demon in the shape of a ram, who violated the goddess Disār'i and became the father of the water-god Bagisht.

The name given to these mountains by Hiuan Tsang is the Onion Mountains. Possibly the name was given to this part of the Hindu Kush on account of the immense amount of leek which grows in the highest glens just below the snow-line.

From Garm Chishma I returned to Chitral, where I spent most of the month of August. On account of illness, and also because of the heavy rains and floods all over the country, I was forced to give up my original plan of returning to India via Gilgit and Kashmir.

[1] The *Ustich* or *Ustuǰn*, called *Pṭelóm dâ* by my Kati guides, and, acc. to them, *Stúžun* in Prs.

Instead I visited, on my way down from Chitral to Lowarai, the village of Urtsun, which is inhabited by Kalashas and Katis. Both languages are spoken here, and the religion is of a syncretistic type. The pagans still inhabit the old village, which is very picturesquely situated on the top of a steep hill. The Muslim part of the population, which has come into existence in recent and more peaceful times, lives scattered among the fields in the narrow but fertile valley at the foot of the rock. The path down the narrow gorge from Urtsun to Nagar crosses and recrosses the stream innumerable times, and when the river is in flood, it is impassable, and Urtsun is accessible across the hills only.

On my way down through Dir I had to make a detour because the suspension-bridge over the Panjkora at Chukiatan had been carried away by the flood.

I felt quite relieved when my luggage with all the linguistic and ethnographical material had come safely across the rickety native bridges.

I reached Peshawar on Sept. 6th. After a short stay there and a tour through the southern districts of the N. W. Frontier Province. I left for Bombay, sailing from there on Sept. 26th.

THE LANGUAGES OF CHITRAL AND ADJOINING REGIONS

INDO-ARYAN AND KAFIR GROUP

The state of Chitral covers an area of about 12 000 square kilométres, with a population of some 100 000. Within this territory eleven distinct languages are spoken, some of them again split up into dialects. Ten of these languages are found in the southern quarter of the country, leaving on the average not more than a square with 17 kms side for each language. And it must be remembered that only a small part of the country is cultivable and inhabited. The reason for this diversity lies in the fact that Chitral has for a long time been a comparatively settled region which has attracted immigrants from all sides; — only three of these languages have been spoken in Chitral for more than a few centuries.

Khowar. The most important language of the state is Khowar, often simply called Chitrali by the neighbours. It is the language used by the ruling family, and for all oral official communications; and it is probably understood to some extent by every grown up man in the state.

Khowar means the language of the Kho tribe, which has its home in the northern part of the state, in the valleys called Mulikho and Turikho, the Lower and Upper Kho (Valley).[1]

The name Kho has been identified with Kiu-wei, the ancient Chinese name of Mastuj or Upper Chitral,

[1] Acc. to Kalasha tradition the Khos came from *Verišgum* (Yasin), at present inhabited by Burushaski-speaking people.

and this hypothesis is supported by the fact that the Sanglechis call the Khos *Kiri*.

Another old Chinese name for Mastuj is Shang-mi[1], probably identical with the Prasun Kafir name of Chitral *Šim-* or *Sīmaī-gul*, and with Sanglechi *Šām-Čatrāδ*.[2] It seems reasonable to assume that the first part of this double name originally denoted the northern part of the country, or Mastuj, while **Čatrāδ* was restricted to the southern part, or Chitral proper. Chinese sources from the 8th century, a period when Chitral was a pawn in the great imperialistic game between Arabs, Chinese and Tibetans, mention the existence of two separate principalities corresponding to Chitral proper and Mastuj. In later times, too, the forces which have tended towards a unification of the country have repeatedly been thwarted, and the independence of Mastuj has been re-established for shorter or longer time.[3]

We do not know when the country was first united into one state; but the unification was certainly connected with the expansion of the Khos towards the south. Both Kho and Kalasha tradition agree that the Kalasha formerly had their own kings and were masters of the country up to Reshun, near the gorges which form the natural frontier between Chitral and Mastuj. And even at the present day the Khos are expanding at the expense of the Kalashas in Lower Chitral and its side-valleys.

Before the Kalashas the *Balāliks* are said to have inhabited the country. Nothing is known about this mythical people, but the word *Balālik* is probably connected with *Bilyō*, the Kati name for Chitral.

The Khos do not give the impression of being a specially warlike race, and it seems probable that they have acquired their present position as the result of a

[1] Cf. Stein, Serindia, 42.

[2] Reg. the name Chitral cf. BSOS. VI, 441.

[3] I was not till 1907 that the country was definitely united again after the separation effected by the British in 1894.

better political organization than that of the neighbouring tribes, and not only through prowess in war. The nobility, the Adamzadas, is divided into a number of clans, several of which, and among those the ruling family, are descended from immigrants from Central Asia. Such foreign elements may have contributed toward giving the Khos the political leadership.

In Gawar Bati, a language spoken in Southern Chitral, the country is called *Moŋgul*. This name possibly means Mongol, and refers to Mughal elements which have been assimilated by the Khos. But this derivation is by no means certain, and *-gul* may be the usual Dardic word for 'country', 'valley'. A more ancient invasion of a group of Iranians is possibly indicated by *Pātu*, the Kalasha name for the Khos. This word can be derived from **Pārtav*, and it is tempting to connect it with the name of the Parths.

Linguistically the assimilation of such small groups of immigrants from the north-west does not appear to have affected the structure of Khowar seriously.

Apart from the Prs. words common to all surrounding Islamic languages, Khowar has taken over a number of words from its Iranian neighbours, especially Wakhi, which has in its turn borrowed from Khowar.[1] Of greater historical importance is the fact that Khowar contains a number of words which must have been borrowed from a middle-Iranian language. Possibly this fact has some connection with the invasion of a group of 'Parthians' mentioned above.

There exists in Khowar a considerable number of words of unknown origin, apparently neither Indian nor Iranian. One naturally thinks of Burushaski as the possible source of such elements, and the publication of Col. Lorimer's work on this language by the Institute will make it possible to solve the question, whether Khowar has adopted Burushaski elements to any great extent.

In a few words, e. g. in *orc* 'bear', phonetical peculiarities induce one to think of Kafir origin.

[1] Cf. Report, p. 75.

In its base Khowar is a purely Indian language, and the Khow. words which are of Indo-Aryan origin can always be derived from Ancient Indian, without there being any necessity for constructing any older stage.

The material which I collected about Khowar will be published elsewhere, and in this place I shall mention only one detail, which is of interest, and which does not seem to have been noticed before.

It has been assumed that Khow. had lost the aspiration of mediae, and the deaspiration has been considered as an important characteristic of the 'Dardic' group of dialects. But in most of these dialects the aspiration either remains, or has left behind traces of its former existence,[1] and the disappearance of the aspiration is probably of comparatively recent origin.

In Khow., just as in Pashai dialects etc., we find that there is a connection between aspiration and the low, rising tone. Thus we have Khow. *pǜž* 'breast', but *phi̋o* 'shoulder', *phǻn* 'palm' (with secondary aspiration); *istȍr* 'horse', *troì* 'three', *pònč* 'five', but *çhī́r* 'milk', *çhṓi* 'six', *verkhū́* 'lamb'.

And, while *gala-* results in Khow. *gȍl* 'neck', we find *gṓl (g·ṓl)* 'valley' < **ghala-* (Kal. *ghau*, gen. *ghālas*), *dȍn* 'tooth', but *dṓ°n* 'ghee' < **dhadan-* < *dadhan-*, *brȁn* 'goat, one year old' < **vrāṇa-* (Skr. *uraṇa-*), but *brǘr* 'brother', *b·ǘm* 'earth'. The occurrence of the rising tone in words with preserved or original aspiration seems to be fairly regular. Some exceptions can be explained. Thus we find *čṓr* 'four' (through the influence of *çhṓi* 'six'?); *gṓm* 'wheat', but also *gṓm* 'I come'; *žǘr* 'daughter' < **ǰhūδ*[1] and *žáu* 'son'; but also *žṓ* 'barley', *žṓi* 'water-channel', where there seems to be no reason for the occurrence of the rising tone. *dᵃhȁr* 'hill-side' must be a late loan-word from a dialect which preserves the aspiration, cf. e. g. G.B. *d'ār*.

The pronunciation of original aspirated mediae varies

[1] Cf. pp. 24, 29.

[2] Reg. *ž-* cf. Rep. p. 71. — *žau* < *yahu-*?

in the different parts of Chitral. In the 'capital' a slight glottal stop is heard after the occlusive, e. g. *g·ṓl* 'valley', in other parts of the country a trace of an aspiration remained in *g'ṓl*. This was the case in Laspur in the north-east, and in the neighbourhood of Drosh, where there may be a Kalasha substratum. It is worth noticing that the Kalasha Mahmad Isa, who distinguished between aspirated and unaspirated mediae in his own language, would pronounce the Khow. word for 'valley' *ghōl*, and evidently heard something resembling his own aspirated mediae in Khow. *g·*, *g'*.

On the whole there are no very pronounced dialectical variations within Khow. Pronunciation may vary slightly, e. g. as regards the vowels and the voiceless *r̥* (e. g. *bor̥t*, *boxt* 'stone', *sayūr̥č*, *sayūč* 'eagle'), and certain vulgarisms have developed in the bazar language of Chitral village; but there does not exist any well defined dialects of the language, although it spreads over a territory much larger than that inhabited by most of the neighbouring tribes.

There are probably several reasons for this relative homogenity. As remarked above, the expansion of Khow. appears to have taken place at a comparatively recent date. And there is still a good deal of circulation among the Khos of different parts of Chitral. Nobles receive new fiefs and settle on them, and serfs are moved from one estate to another.

The custom of assigning children to a foster-mother of a befriended family living in another part of the state is common among the nobility, and probably counteracts the tendencies towards linguistic differenciation. And, finally, Khowar, though not a written language, enjoys a certain prestige. The Mehtar and his family, and many Adamzadas or nobles, are proud of their sonorous language and cultivate a distinct pronunciation, thus forming a conservative safeguard, retarding all changes. This is a factor which is not active to the same extent with regard to other languages of the region.

As mentioned above [1], the Kalashas inhabited the lower part of the Chitral valley before the expansion of the Khos. According to their own tradition, they originally came from a country called *Tsiyam*, situated somewhere towards the south, and on their way they stayed for a few generations in Waigel. **Kalasha.**

At present Kalasha is spoken by Muslim converts in a few villages in the main valley near Drosh. Here they will probably ere long be assimilated by the Khowar-speaking population.

Very different is the situation in the side-valleys of Rumbur, Bumboret, Birir, Jinjoret and Urtsun [2], where the Kalashas have preserved their ancient religion and traditions. Their social position is low and they are used for all kinds of corvée work by the local government. And it is perhaps easier to retain them in this state of semi-serfdom if they do not join the brotherhood of Islam. At any rate no serious attempts are made to convert them.

Kalasha is a purely Indian language, in many ways closely related to Khow. Probably the two languages belong to the first wave of Indo-Aryan immigrants from the south. There is no reason to believe that they came direct from Central Asia across the Hindu Kush.

Among the chief points of resemblance between Khow. and Kal. are the development of intervocalic *-t-* into *r* or *l*, and the retention of an augmented preterite, e. g. Kal. *pim* 'I drink', *ävis*, *apis* 'I drank' [3]. The sporadic occurence of *-l-* < *-t-*, *-d-* in Kohistani dialects is possibly due to a mixing between older and younger strata of Indian immigrants. Also the absence of cerebralization in Khow. *ṛt*, Kal. *t* < *rt* is characteristic of these two languages.

The vocabularies agree to a large extent; but it is often difficult to distinguish between genuine Kal. words and borrowings from Khow.

[1] P. 47.

[2] Kal.: *Rugmū(l-)*, *Mumorēt*, *Birīu*, *J̌injirēt*, and *Ucūṛ*.

[3] Cf. Turner, BSOS. IV, 538 ff.

Yet Kal. is a separate language, and no mere corruption of Khow. Both the vocabulary and the morphology differ in many ways from those of Khow. The aspiration of mediae is fully preserved, *t*, *d* are palatalized before *i* (*čiṣṭak* 'bitter', *ǰiṣṭ* 'span to little finger', Khow. *diṣṭ*), and the development of a *t* in *āstru* 'tear' is more in accordance with the tendencies of the Kohistani dialects than with those of Khow.

Common to Kal. and Kati are the palatal *ŕ* and the dental affricate *c*, which occurs in Khow. in a few, possibly borrowed, words only. Cf. e. g. Kal. *kŕũ* 'ear', *pŕẽ* 'palm of the hand', *l'äʳ'ű* 'melon' (Khow. *lalū*), *dac* 'mosquito' (cf. Skr. *daṃś-* 'to bite'?), *ciu* (*cīl-*) 'edge, sharp'. The *c* has probably originally been adopted into Kal. in loanwords from Kati, cf. *cirą̈̃* 'parrot', Kati *cerom*, Dam. *ceran*; *ic* 'bear', Kati *īc*. But also *doᵘcúṇ*, Khow. *dōcun* 'young of leopard'; *ŕuc*, Khow. *gruc* 'cluster of grapes, berries'. The *ŕ*, too, may be due to Kati influence; but it is not found in any certain loanwords from Kati.

The numerous correspondences between the vocabularies of Kal. and Kati are quite natural, considering the long period of close contact between the two tribes. We know nothing about the language of the *J̌aṣīs*, who were said to have been the inhabitants of the lower Bashgal valley before the arrival of the Kati-speaking *Kāms*. But it is quite possible that their language was akin to Kal. Investigations about the possible survival of the language of the Jashis in Gourdesh, where some of them are still said to live, did not, however, lead to any results, and everybody said that Kati (Bashgali) was the only language spoken there.

The difference between the dialect of Kal. spoken in Rumbur and Bumboret and that of Birir, appeared to be very slight. But in the southern part of Kal. territory, especially in Urtsun, a distinct dialect is spoken.

As regards phonetics there are two main points of

difference between the southern and northern dialects of Kal.

Northern Kal. in many, but not in all, cases changes aspirated mediae into aspirated tenues, e.g. *thū̃m* 'smoke', *khā̃s* 'grass', *phār* 'burden', *phor'ī* 'birch', *čhū* 'daughter'. But also *bhū̃m* 'ground', *ghon(d-)* 'stench', *bhut* 'demon' (l. w.), etc. Whatever may be the explanation of this irregular representation of aspirated mediae in N. Kal., it is unknown in Urtsun where the corresponding forms are *dhūm, ghās, bhār, bur'ī, ǰhūr, bhūm* etc.

It ought to be mentioned that Kal., and also Pal., has aspirated mediae in several words where the aspiration is not justified by etymology, e.g. Kal. rumb. *dhandoṛyak* 'tooth', *bhel* 'spade' (from Prs.).

The other point of difference between the two dialects touches the development of intervocalic *-t-*. As shown by Turner[1] the previously known, northern, dialect of Kal. changes *-t-* to *l*, and further, together with original *l*, to *-u* in final position. E. g. *siu*, gen. *sīlas* 'bridge', *čhū* (**čhūu̯*), *čhūlas* 'daughter', but also *hau*, *hālas* 'plough'

In Urtsun *-t-* results in *r* : *ǰhūr*, *ser* (but *hāl*)[2], just as is the case in Khow.

In common Kal. the sound developed from *-t-* must have been different as well from *l* as from *r*, and most probably it was ð. Khow. *r* has also passed through this fricative stage, as is shown by the Sangl. loanword *Čatrâð* 'Chitral', Khow. *Chetrār*[3]. Even without admitting that Dardic occupies an intermediate position between Ind. and Ir., we may assume that the neighbourhood of Ir. languages has favoured the development of fricatives in Khow. and Kal.

The most important morphological feature which distinguishes the Urtsun dialect is the preservation of the ancient personal suffix 1 pl. pres.

[1] BSOS. IV, 535 ff.

[2] *dril* 'inflated skin' with dissimilation < **drir*, *dṛti-*, as in Khow.

[3] Cf. BSOS. VI, 441.

Present		Preterite	
Rumbur	Urtsun	Rumbur	Urtsun
kārem 'I do'	*kārim*	*āris*	*akāris*
kāres	*kāris*	*āri*	*akāri*
kāreu	*kārir*	*āren*	*akārer*
kārik	*kārimis*	*ārimi*	*akārimi*
kārou	*kārer*	*ārili*	*akāeri*
kāren	*kārin*	*āren*	*akāren*

Palula. In a few villages in side-valleys on the eastern side of the lower Chitral valley a Dardic language is spoken about which nothing was previously known. This is *Palūla*, the dialect of the Dangarīks mentioned by Biddulph.[1] According to my informants (from Ashret, Purigal and Biōṛī) this language which is called *Pʌlúlʌ*[2] is spoken in *Acarēt* (Ashret), *Biyō'ṛī*, *Puriga'l*, *Ghəs*, and *Gumāḍāṇḍ*. A related dialect is found in *Sau* on the Kunar river in Afghan territory. Possibly the same language is also spoken in *Aśirēt* in the Dir Kohistan,[3] but my informants did not agree about this. But they all asserted that the tribe had come from Chilas on the Indus some two or three generations ago. One of my informants, however, wisely ans vered my question about the date of the immigration with a: 'God knows'.

A short survey of the linguistic evidence will show that the tradition is right in connecting the Dangarīks or 'Cow-people' with Chilas and the Shin country. But it seems probable that the immigration must have taken place at an earlier date than that assigned to it by tradition, i. e. only a generation before the time when Biddulph found the tribe fully established in its present habitation.

The intimate connection between Palūla and the Shina group appears most clearly from a comparison between the morphology and vocabulary of the two languages. The phonetical system of Pal. is on the whole much more archaic than that of Shina.

The personal pronouns of Pal. agree with Shinə of Gilgit.

[1] Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh, p. 64.

[2] Phʌlúra in Biōrī.

[3] There is also a village called Ashret in the Swat Kohistan.

	Pal.ashret	Sh.gil.[1]		Pal.ash.	Sh.gil.
'I'	*ma*	*mà*	'thou'	*tu*	*tu*
'my'	*mī*	*maï*	'thee'	*thī*	*thaï*
'we'	*beh*	*bè*	'you'	*tus*	*tso*
'our'	*asī*	*asaï*	'your'	*tusī*	*tsaï*

The demonstratives are:

	Pal.ash.	Sh.gil.
‚this'	nom. sg. *anu* m., *ani* f.	*anu*, *anè*
	gen. » *anisī*	*anusè*
	nom. pl. *ani*	*anī*
	gen. » *aninī*	*anènè*
'that'	nom. sg. *aṛo*	*ro*

Cf. also the personal suffixes of the verb:

	Pal.ash.		Sh.gil.
'I am'	*thūm*	(bioṛī *thām*)	*bom* 'I shall become'
	thīṛ	(bi. *thɛṛ*)	*bè*
	thī		*baii*
	thiya		*bōn*
	thīt	(bi. *thēt*)	*bāat*
	thīn	(bi. *thēn*)	*bèen*

Similar forms are not found in any of the dialects adjoining Pal., and are characteristic of Shina. I cannot, however, explain the Pal. 2sg. and 1pl. forms.

Characteristic words common to Pal. and Shina are e. g.

Pal. *būlʋ*	'hair'	Sh. *bālo*	
ṣiṣ	'head'	*ṣiṣ*	
yūn	'moon'	*yūn*	
wī	'water'	*waii*	
ghōṣṭ	'house'	*gōṭ* (*gōṣ*)	
sōr	'ice'	*sōr*	(Grahame Bailey, Kohistani)
hūši	'wind'	*ō̃ṣị*	(» » »)
aghā	'sky'	*agáï*	(» » »)
bhɛš-	'to sit'	*băy-*	

[1] Lorimer, LSI. I, 1, 336 sqq.

Cf. also the numerals.

Pal.ash.	Savi	Sh. jijeluṭ	Sh.pales[1]	Kandia	G.B.	Dameli
āk (bi.*ak*)	*yak*	*ɛk*	*ēk‘*	*ēk‘*	*yɔk*	*ɛk*
dū	*dū*	*dū*	*dū*	*dū*	*dū*	*dū*
trō (bi.*trū*)	*trā/ē*	*çē*	*ṭrē*	*ṭrā*	*λē*	*trā*
čūr (bi.*čār*)	*čār*, *čōr*	*čār*	*čᵗār*	*čōr*	*cūr*	*čōr*
pānž	*pānž*	*poṣ̌*	*poš*	*pāš*	*pōnc*	*pāč*
ṣoʰ (bi.*ṣᵘo*)	*ṣōᵘ*	*ṣaʰ*	*ṣʌh*	*ṣā*	*ṣᵘō*	*ṣō*
sāt (bi.*sat*)	*sat*	*sät*	*sʌt*	*sāt*	*sot*	*sʌt*
āṣṭ	*āṭh*	*aṣ*	*ʌṣ*	*āṭh*	*ōṣṭ*	*aṣṭ*
nū̃	*nōu*	*naʊ̃*	*nāʊ̃*	*nāū̃*	*nū̃*	*nō̃*
dāš	*daš*	*daɪ*	*dʌī*	*daš*	*doš*	*daš*
akōš	*yakāš*	*ʌkäɪ*	*akūī*	*agālaš*	*ǰāš*	*yâš*
bōš	*bāš*	*bäɪ*	*būī*	*dwālaš*	*bāś*	*bâš*
trīš	*tre(w)iš*	*çuäɪ*	*ṭrōī*	*ṭrigōlaš*	*λowāš*	*trōš*
čʌndiš	*čadīš*	*čʌhondäɪ*	*čahundeī*	*čandaš*	*čudāš*	*čʌndēš*
panǰīš	*penǰis*	*pʌzilär*	*pʌnzəlaī*	*panǰalaš*	*pinčāš*	*pʌ̃čēš*
ṣoriš	*ṣuṛas*	*ṣoräɪ*	*ṣōri*	*ṣōeš*	*ṣorāš*	*ṣoyēš*
sʌttōš	*satās*	*sʌtäɪ*	*sattāi*	*satāeš*	*sotāš*	*sattâš*
ʌṣṭōš	*aṭhās*	*ʌṣṭäɪ*	*aṣṭāi*	*aṭhāeš*	*aṣṭāš*	*aṣṭâš*
ʌṇʌbhīš	*(ʊ)ǰrīš*	*ʊkəṇī*	*ukənīh*	*ambēš*	*inīš*	*uṇyēš*
bhīš	*biš*	*bī*	*bīh*	*bēš*	*išī*	*biši*

It will be observed that in some cases the Pal. forms agree with the Kandia ones; but the word for ‘eleven’ is characteristic of Sh.

The group *ṣṭ* is preserved in Pal, e. g. *diṣṭ* ‘span’, *ǰɛṣṭʌ* (*ʌngūṛ*) ‘big (toe)’, *múṣṭi* ‘fist’[2]. *st* is preserved in *nāᵘst* ‘nose’, *bistīṇʊ* ‘wide’, but assimilation has taken place in *hat(h)* ‘hand’, *māᵘtʊ* ‘brain’. To a certain extent this is in accordance with Sh., where *st* is always assimilated, while *ṣṭ* is preserved in some cases. But the causes of the irregular development of these groups are not clear.

Groups of occlusives + *r* are retained in Pal. Examples are *trānd* ‘net’, *triṣṭo* ‘bitter’, *sūtrī* ‘female’, *sūtr* ‘thread’, *dhrāç* ‘grape’, *drug* ‘gorge, ravine’, *dhrigo* ‘long’, *drubālo*

[1] Sh. kōlēi: *ṣua* ‘6’, *dai* ‘10’, *ṭruōi* ‘13’, *ṣuōi* ‘16’

[2] But *bhɛṭo* ‘sat’

'lean', *ūdr* 'otter', *yāndr* 'mill', *kram* 'work', *krin-* 'to sell', *čukro* 'sour', *grhēṇḍ* 'knot', *grhōm* 'village', *grhīnjo* 'vulture', *prīṣu* 'flea', *prāču* 'guest', *brhuǰ* 'birch', *brhō* 'brother', *ābru* 'cloud', *brām* 'wrist' (< *marman-*).

In the Kohistani dialects of Sh. *r* has been preserved in *ṭr*, *çr*; but on the whole the assimilation is characteristic of Sh. Cf., from the dialects which I had occasion to hear, Sh. pal. *çhiṭho* 'bitter', *ǰʌmaçro* 'son-in-law', *ẓaç* 'grape' (Sh. jij. *ǰʌç*), *jīk* 'tall', *yoṣ* 'mill', *kōm* 'work'[1], *āẓu* 'cloud', *ẓā* 'brother'.

Among other archaic features of Pal. as compared with Sh. may be mentioned the preservation of *nd* < *nt*, e. g. in *pānd* 'road', Sh. *pon*, and of intervocalic *ś*, *s*, e. g. *āśuṇ* 'hail', *bhēś-* 'to sit', *bhēś* 'roof-beam', *dɛs* 'day', *hās-* 'to laugh', Sh. (Grahame-Bailey) *aīyĕr*, *băy-*, *bōi*, *dez*, *hay-*[2].

The aspiration of mediae is preserved, at any rate in initial position, e. g. in *ghūṛu* 'horse', *ghīṛ* 'ghee', *dhūmī* 'smoke', *dhī* 'daughter', *bhɛṇ* 'sister', *bhus* 'straw, bhus'. But aspiration is also found in many words where it is not justified by etymology, e. g. *ghāu* 'cow', *dhūra* 'far', *bhīś* '20', *ǰhāmatrō* 'son-in-law'. To a less extent this is the case in Kal., too. This tendency is an indication that the ancient distinction between aspirated and unaspirated mediae is beginning to be weakened, but the movement is working in the opposite direction of that found in most Dardic dialects. I could not detect any difference of tone between aspirated and unaspirated words in Pal.

It is tempting to try to associate the tones discovered in Shina by Grahame Bailey with the ancient aspiration. But the facts are not in favour of this hypothesis. In the Kohistani Shina dialect of Pales I heard traces of aspiration, and perhaps even in the dialect of Jijeluṭ above Gilgit.[3]

[1] Possibly from **kamm*, not **kramm*. Some Sh. dialects have *krom*. In Sh. pal. *kr* seems to have resulted in *č* (*ç*?) in *čīro* 'black', Sh. koh. *kiṇū*.

[2] Pal. *aghā* 'cloud', (Sh. *ăgái* 'sky') must be a loan-word.

[3] Cf. A. O., X. 297.

These phonetical pecularities will suffice to show that Pal., although being closely related to Sh., must have branched off at a time when the characteristics of that language were not yet fully developed.

The vocabulary also differs a good deal from that of Sh. Alone among the Dardic languages (Ksh. excepted) Pal. has given up the old word for sister and employs a form of the ordinary modern I.A. type (*bhɛ̄ṇ*). And apart from borrowings from Khow., Pal. has also adopted other words peculiar to the dialects of its present home. Such words are e. g. *kīr* 'snow', Dam. *kīr*, Kal.. *kīrik* (Sh. *hĭn*); *rēmʌc* 'fish', somehow connected with Dam. *âᵘmrʌc*, Kal. u. *ū-maci*, Kati *ō-maci* (Sh. *ċhĭ́nŭ*); *prašpīl* 'sweat', Dam. *prašpʸɛl*, G.B. *plašēd* (Sh. ǰ. *pastō*); *preṣ* 'mother-in-law', Kal. *isprɛs*, Khow. *ìšpreṣī*, Bashk. *čiš* (< **priṣ*), Torw. *paiṣ* (Sh. *šaṣ*). The word for 'blood' in Pal. is derived from *rakta-*, as is the case also in Bashk., Torw., Ksh. and Lhd., not from *lohita-* as the corresponding words in Sh., Khow., Kal., Dam., G. B., Tir., and the Kafir dialects (except in Prasun where *asr̥j-* has survived, as is also the case in Pash)

There is some difference between the Pal. dialect of Ashret and that of the villages in the Shishi valley, Purigal and Biōṛī. In most cases the Ashreti dialect, from which alone I have more extensive material, is less conservative than the northern one. The chief differences concern the vowels. Ashr. has lengthened a short, stressed *a* e. g. in *āk* '1', *dāš* '10', *pānd* 'road', Pur. *ak*, *daš*, *pand*. *ā* has become *ō* or *ū* in Ashr.: *bōš* '12', *aŋgōr* 'fire', *čūr* '4', *hūši* 'wind' : Pur. *bāš*, *aŋgār*, *ćār*, *hāš* (but Sh. *ō̃ši*). In some cases Ashr. *ō* = Pur. *ū* < *ā* : *bōlʌ* 'hair', *tōra* 'star', Pur. *būlu*, *tūra*. Ash. *ī*, Pur. *ē* in *sīu* 'bridge', *dīš* 'country'; Pur. *sēu*, *dēš*. But also Ashr. *ē* from *ă* with 'umlaut', e. g. *bhɛ̄ṇ* 'sister', *šēmī* 'spleen'.

On the Kunar river, in Afghan territory, a kind of Pal. is spoken in Sau. I did not meet any native of this village; but one of my G. B. informants had lived there as a boy, and professed to know the language.

His knowledge of Savi proved to be very imperfect, he gave different forms for the same word on different occasions, and he was of course influenced by his own mother-tongue. But the information I received from him sufficed to prove the existence of a Pal. dialect, probably much mixed with G.B., in Sau.

Regarding the vowels, Savi generally appeared to agree with the more archaic northern dialect of Purigal and Biōṛī, and not with its nearest neighbour Ashreti. Cf. e. g. *bäś* '12', *sēū* 'bridge', but *wuṡi* 'wind' (cf. above). *tāra* 'star' may have been borrowed from G. B.

Another previously unknown language of Southern Chitral is Dameli (*Dâmɪu-bâṣa*) spoken in Damel (*Dâmen*), a small valley, called *Giḍ* by the Pathans, which is situated on the eastern side of the river below Mirkhani. **Dameli.**

The ethnographical notes on Chitral collected by Captain B. E. M. Gurdon, which have been placed at my disposal through the courtesy of Sir Denys Bray, mention 'Daman', Khow. 'Damer', Psht. 'Gid', and say that all three names mean 'the confluence of two streams' (?). According to these notes 'the people state they originally came from Gabar in Swat, and are descendants of Sultan Haider Ali. They say that half the Arnawai families are of the same race, and that of two brothers one settled in Arnawai and the other in Gad. They do not speak Gabari, but Damerbasha, which may be Dangarikwar, as the Chitralis say that it is identical with the language spoken in Dahimal, a village on the Gilgit river above Gupis, where the people are Dangariks. The Gid folk understands Kafirs, Chitralis and Afghans alike, but their own language is quite distinct from any spoken by these races.' — One of my informants also asserted that they originally came from Swat, cf. p. 61.

Viewed from the mountains between Urtsun and Bashgal the Damel valley seems to be fertile in its upper, fan-like part, but near its juncture with the main valley it narrows down to a gorge.

The Dameli language has a great number of words

in common with its nearest neighbours, Pal. and G.B., but it differs from both of these languages in several important respects.

In contradistinction to G. B. this dialect has preserved groups of occlusives + *r*, e. g. *trâ* '3', *pūtr̥* 'son', *drâk* 'grape', *kram* 'work', *gram* 'village', *prɔ̄š* 'bed', *brâ* 'brother'. Nor does it change *č* to *c*, as does G.B. On the other hand *nt* is not preserved as in G.B., but becomes *n* (*dʌn* 'tooth'), and *v-* is changed into *b-* (*bâṭ* 'stone'), as is also the case in Pal. But unlike this latter language the ancient palatal semivowel is also changed, e. g. in *žɔ̣* 'barley'.

But the most interesting feature of Dam. is that it contains a number of words in which the original Indo-Eur. palatals *k̂*, *ĝ*. *ĝh*, and the labiovelar $g^{w}h$ before palatal vowels, are represented, not by *ś* (*s*), *j*, *h* as in all languages of purely I. A. origin, but by *c*, *z*, *ž*, as is to a great extent the case in the Kafir group.

E. g. *câ* 'vegetable', *cīa* 'sand' (Kati *cüyū*), *cīta* 'sharp' (Kati *cå*), *cunā* 'dog' (Waig. *cū̃*), *cuwâr* 'hedgehog' (Kati *spaī?*), *kyēc* 'hair' (Waig. *kēc*), *zayēçi* 'pregnant', *zân-* 'to understand' (Kati *zā̃r'e-*), *zâmā* 'son-in-law' (Kati *zëmå'*[1]). *zīn* 'winter' (Kati *zīm* 'snow'), *zâdi* 'heart' (< **zārdi-*, cf. Kati *jërë*), *bazɔ̂* 'arm', *daš* 'hand' (Kati *dušt* < **zust*), *žan-* 'to kill' (Kati *jīr'e-*),

A number of other words, too, agree with Kafiri. Such are e. g. *ⁱštâri* 'star' (Kati *štå*), *žamī* 'wife's brother' (Kati *žämī*), *žuʰ* 'daughter' (Kati *juk*), *prōš* 'bed' (Kati *pr'ušt*), *iskâ* 'fat' (Kati *skå*), *gī* 'bowstring' (Waig. *gī*).

These words cannot, on account of their form, be simply loan-words from Kati, but Dam. must be the result of a mixture of an I.A., Dardic, dialect and an independent Kafir language, different from any of those existing at present.

Aspiration of mediae is, if it exists at all, extremely weak in Dam., and this may also be due to Kafiri

[1] G.B. *zamāλó* with secondary development of *j* > *z*, just as of *č* > *c*.

influence. The dialect possesses two tones, a level and a falling. In most cases originally aspirated words have the level tone, but there are several exceptions, and it is not certain that the tone is dependent on the aspiration.

Words with level tone are e. g. *žan* 'snake', *san* 'hole', *dʌn* 'tooth', *žip* 'tongue', *lōi* 'blood', *khʌr* 'donkey', *phan* 'road', *dum* 'smoke', *bâr* 'load', *phʌṭ* ,feather', *gōm* 'wheat', *darr* 'door', *gal* 'valley'. With falling tone: *žàn* 'mill', *sʌ̇n* 'hill', *lùm* 'hair', *ṣìŋ* 'horn', *bùm* 'earth', *brā̂* 'brother', *gràm* 'village'.

The personal pronouns of Dam. are:

	1 sg.	1 pl.	2 sg.	2 pl.
nom.	*ai*	*ai*	*tu*	*bi*
obl.	*mū*	*amâ*	*tɔ̄*	*myā*

The conjugation is of the following type:

Fut.	Aor.	Preter.	Pres.	Perf.
kurím	*kunum*	*kurum*	*kurinum*	*kurthum*
kurɛ́	*kunop*	*kurōp*		
kuró	*kuna*	*kurē*	Plupf.	Imperf.
kuríma	*kunuma*	*kurūma*	*kurithum*	*kunum tha*
kuríba	*kunoba*	*kurōba*		
kurín	*kunun*	*kurēn*		

The curious forms of the 2 sg. and pl. probably originally belong to the preterite only, and can be derived from enclitic pronouns, *-p* < *tvā*, and *-b a* < *vaḥ.*[1]

Of Gawar Bati a short account is given in the LSI., Gawar-bati.
and I need only say a few words about the dialect in this preliminary report.

The language is spoken round Arandu (Arnawai) in Chitral, and in several villages on the Afghan side of the frontier. Besides, as mentioned above,[2] a dialect of G. B., much mixed with Pashai, is spoken in Shumasht.

Mirza Ali Shah[3] from Arandu (*Haranū lām*) told me that the Gawars had immigrated from Gabar in Bajaur,

[1] But cf. *-um*: *-uma*; *-op*: *-oba.*

[2] P. 24.

[3] V. p. 34.

in the time of Sultan Azhdar Ali, sixteen generations ago. His four sons were expelled by the Pathans, and one of them conquered Arandu from the Kafirs and settled there.

This tradition agrees with that told about the origin of the Damelis,[1] and it is possible that the non-Kafir element among this tribe is related to the Gawars. Sultan Haidar Ali Bajauri is mentioned by Babur, and if we allow 30 years for each generation, sixteen generations would carry us back to A. D. 1450, about the time of this prince, and of the Pathan conquest of Swat and Bajaur. The tradition does therefore probably contain some nucleus of truth; but it is of course not certain that the G.B. language was brought to Arandu by these immigrants

The two younger ones among my informants had lost every trace of aspiration of mediae, while the older one still had it in some words. But the aspiration was very faint, and its appearance irregular. I heard it e. g. in *g'ās* 'grass', *g'um* 'wheat', *b'um* 'earth', *d'um* 'smoke', but never in *gʌd* 'ghee', *goṛʌ* 'horse'. Dr. Guha and Dr. Chopra kindly assisted me in listening to these faint traces of aspiration, and they agreed with me that there seemed to be some difference between the generations as regards the pronunciation of these sounds. Indian ears are of course much more accustomed to distinguish these sounds than European ones.

G. B. forms an intermediate link between Pashai and the Kohistan dialects, and shows similar tendencies as these languages as regards the treatment of groups of occlusives + *r*.[2] While *pr* and *b*(*h*)*r* become *pl* and *bl*, *kr* and *tr* result in (ᵊ)λ, and *gr*, *dr* in *l*.

G. B. agrees with Pashai and Kafiri in retaining initial *v*- in most cases; but the development of *vi*- > *i*- is peculiar to this dialect.

[1] Cf. p. 59.

[2] Cf. pp. 23, 29.

The last purely I.A. language spoken in Chitral (excepting Hindostani and other Indian languages of the plains which are spoken by a few clerks and merchants), is Gujuri, which is found in a few hamlets in the Shishi valley and in some other places. I did not make any attempt to collect information about this dialect; but a few words noted from a Gujur in Dir showed that the dialect is nearly identical with the Gujuri of the LSI. (IX, 4, 964).[1] Gujuri.

The only true Kafir language spoken by permanent inhabitants of Chitral is Kati (Bashgali).[2] It has, however, been introduced into the country within the last few generations. Kati.

Some immigration had taken place from the lower Bashgal valley to Urtsun before the time of Abdur-Rahman. But it was chiefly after the Afghan conquest and the conversion of Kafiristan that pagan refugees from Bargromatal in the upper Bashgal valley were allowed to settle in Chitral, above the Kalasha villages in the Rumbur and Bumboret valleys, and at the foot of the Dorah Pass.

The immigrants from Kamdesh in Lower Bashgal do not belong to the great Kati tribe, which occupies Upper Bashgal, Ktiwi, Ramgel and Kulum in Afghan Kafiristan. But it will be practical to use the name Kati to denote

[1] I heard *trē* '3' as in the Gujuri of Hazara, not *tīn* which is the form found in Yusufzai Gujuri of Swat. Also *da te čiṛī* '50' agrees with the Hazara Guj., and Yusufzai Ajṛī, but not with the Yusufzai Guj. form of the LSI.

[2] Kafiri has now become the established name of the group of Indo-Ir. languages (Kati, Waigali, Ashkun, Prasun, and to some extent Dameli) which occupy an intermediate position between I. A. and Ir. With the slight exceptions mentioned above (p. 40) these tribes have now become Muhammedans. On the other hand, most of the Kalashas are still 'Kafirs', i. e. pagans; but they do not speak a Kafir language in the established sense of the term. In other words, 'Kafir' as a linguistic term has nothing to do with the present distribution of religions. If this is kept in mind, I think it will be practical to retain the accustomed terminology, and not to introduce new complications.

the common language of both Katis, Kāms and other smaller clans. The special dialect of Kamdesh etc. may be called Kamdeshi or Bashgali. The dialect of the settlers from Kamdesh in Lower Chitral is locally called Shekhani, i. e. the language of the sheikhs, or converts.

Their dialect differs from that of the real Katis of Bargromatal through the sonorization of consonants in certain positions, e. g. *nazūṛ* 'nose', *manǰi* 'man', *igi* 'that' (Bargrom *nasúŕ*, *manči*, *iki*), through the development of *ü* from palatalized *u* e. g. *k(y)ür* 'foot', *p(y)ü̆tṛ* 'son' (Bargrom. *kyuŕ*, *pĭtṛ*) and through a few other phonetical peculiarities, cf. e. g. *vici* '20', *što* '4', *vacíṛ* 'calf', *kumlik* 'mulberry' with Bargrom. *vəcə*, *št'vo*, *ucéŕ*, *kēlik*. The dialect of Badimuk in the central part of the Bashgal valley in most cases agrees with Barg., e. g. *stic* '17', *ṣṭic* '18', but Kam. *satic*, *aṣṭic*. Kam. forms the present tense with *-n-*, but Barg. with *-t-*; also the vocabularies of the two dialects differ, but not to any great extent.

In a few cases the dialect of Bargromatal and its ofshoots in Kunisht and Bumboret have carried through innovations, while both Bashgali and Western Kati (in Ramgel and Kulum) have preserved an older form, e. g. Barg. *pĭs* 'lung': W. Kati *pəpyüś*, Bashg. *pabís*. In some cases Barg., as would be expected, sides with Bashg. against W.Kati, e. g. Barg. *štrək-(gərǰor)* etc. 'to-day', Bashg. *shtarak-* (Davidson), but W.Kati *špək-(gərǰor)*. There seems to be very little difference between the Kati dialects of Kunisht and Bumboret; but in some cases the pronunciation of the younger generation differs from that of the older one; e. g. in Bumboret *kṭol* 'belly' is frequently pronounced *xṭol*, *ptá* 'gave' as *φtá*, etc., by the younger men.

The dialect of which Ivanow gives a short specimen [1], and which he considers to be that of Kamdesh, certainly belongs to Barg. This is clearly shown by forms such as *čtuvo* '4', *yütum* 'I eat', *manči* 'man' etc. In Davidson's material both Bashgali and real Kati forms occur, and

[1] AO. X, 154.

the latitude of pronunciation is not so wide within one single dialect as would appear from the forms given by him.

Waigeli.

In Bumboret I collected some material from a young Waigelī[1] from the village of Waigel. His dialect on the whole agreed with that of Zhönjigal[2]. According to him a special dialect is spoken in Traieguma; but he could not give any information about it. Regarding Ashkun v. above p. 21.

Prasun.

From Prasun I had three informants, natives of three different villages. The most intelligent man came from *Uṣüt* (Kati *Paṣkī*), the lowermost village of the valley. The old man living in Bumboret[3] was a native of *Zūmu* (Kati *Täcəm*) in the central part of the valley, while the home of the Prasun man whom I had met in Kabūl was *Säici* (Kati *Pōnzoī* or *Poronz*), the uppermost village but one.[4]

The difference between the dialects of the three villages is not very pronounced.

E.g. Uṣüt has *čpluz* '14', *nāliz* '19', *ǰūzu* '11', *zər* 'heart', *igʸī* 'finger': Zūmu and Säici *čpulc*, *naālc*, *züzu*, *zir*, *ügü*. In Säici *l-* is lost in *wurǰuk* 'tongue', *'ätəm* 'tooth': Zūmu and Uṣüt *luzúk(x)*, *lätəm*; but these dialects have lost the initial *v-* in *əṣə* 'heel': Säici *viṣə*.

It is impossible here to enter into any detailed discussion of the strange phonetical changes and the complicated morphology of Prasun, which, even to the nearest neighbours, has the appearance of being a completely foreign and unlearnable language.

Phonetically the Pras. forms can, in most cases, be considered as further developments of the Kati ones. But there are some traits which show that Pras. has

[1] Cf. p. 34.

[2] Cf. Report, p. 42.

[3] V. p. 34.

[4] The remaining three villages are: *Ušüt* (Kati *Kuštakī*) between *Uṣüt* and *Zūmu*; *Wücū* (Kati *Dīva*) between *Zūmu* and *Säici*, *Säič*; and *Ṣupū* (Kati *Ištəvī*) above *Säici*. Cf. also Vavilov and Bukinich, Agricultural Afghanistan, pp. 118 ff.

branched off at an earlier stage than that of present-day Kati.

The most important point is the preservation of intervocalic *d* in the shape of *l*. E. g. *nulū* 'reed' (Skt. *nada-*), *mulu* 'wine' (Skt. *mada-*, *madhu-*), *zulu* 'vulva' (cf. Av. *zadah-* 'podex'), *vyɛle* 'tendon' (cf. Prs. *pai*, Psht. *pala*), *ṭē-vəl* 'sole of the foot' (Skt. *pada-* etc.). *ül* 'belly' (Skt. *udgra-* ?), *-šil-* 'to sit' (Skt. *sad-*). But note the numerals *züzu* '11', *vüzu* '12', *cšizë* '13'. The material for determining the development of *-t-* is very deficient, but *jū* '20' < **vcu* seems to show that it was elided. If this is so, Prasun would agree with Munji, its Ir. neighbour to the north, in the treatment of intervocalic dentals, while in Kalasha *-t-* results in *-l-*, and *-d-* is elided.

It is possible that **k̂t* resulted in Pras. *st*, through the intermediate stage **ct*, in *āstë* '8'. *lüšt'ok* 'daughter' might be derived from **due't-* < **dujit-*, but there is no other certain instance of original *k̂t*.

Initial *k̂* appears as *c* only in *cāw* 'branch', if = Skt. *śākhā-*; *širé* 'autumn', *šülu* 'cold', *šīlī* 'rice' etc. may be of Ind. origin. In postvocalic, final, position we find *c* in *iš-kic* 'mustache' (**āsya-kesa-*). and possibly in *vyoc* 'a kind of pine' (Kati *puci*). Intervocalic *k̂* becomes *z* in *lɛzë* '10', *us-koz-* 'to regard'. *ūzu* 'shepherd' (Kati *pacə-moč*), *yüzu* 'ice, cold' (Kati *yüc*). Of Ind. origin are e. g. *išī* 'hail', *k^u^šul* 'wise', *wōš-* 'to accept, be willing'.

As remarked, Report p. 47, *r* is lost after labials and gutturals. But *tr* results in *ṭ*, e. g. in *gōṭ* 'wrist' (Kati *goṭr̥* 'arm above the elbow'), *žeṭ* 'night', *zūṭə* 'friend' (Kati *zōṭr̥*), *rəṭ* 'wing', *pəṭegē* 'feather' etc. Before *i* we find *č* and *cš* in *žiči* 'letter' (**citra-*), *cšī* '3'. *wyüčī* 'fairy' (Kati *wūtr*).

Very curious is the frequent loss or weakening of initial consonants. Besides the examples mentioned Report p. 48 cf. also the following words.

Original *p-*: *īnik* 'palm of the band', (*r*)*išpīk* 'flower', *vəṭëgë* 'letter, paper', *vī-* 'to drink', *ižinik* 'thread' (Kati *pačē*), *wūtu* 'road', *Apuk* 'Paprok Pass' etc.

With original *k*: *yümu* 'ear' (Kati *karmər'ə*), *Üšüt* 'Ku-

štaki', *Yīpə* (**Kitwi*) 'Ktiwi', *ṷöd-* 'to laugh' (**khand-*, Kati *kən-* ?), ***uṣugu*** 'comb' (Kati *kṣē* ?), *īti* 'knife' (**kṛttikā-* ?).

With original *t-*: *iyū* 'thou', *ī* 'thy', *ü*j*ṻ* 'millet' (Kati *ta*j*ī*), ***uṭäk*** 'shuttle' (Kati *trūtr* < **tu*(*n*)*tr* < *tantra-*).

Among words peculiar to Pras. may be mentioned *yasē* 'belt', *'štyak* 'lock of hair' (Skt. *stukā-* ?), *üškōb* 'bridge' (Skt. *skambha-* 'support' ?), *üčū* 'horn' (< **crū-*, cf. Prs. *sarū* etc.), *pāmə* 'kid' (* *pragāmaka-* ? cf. Munji *fraɣomïy*, etc.)[1].

Some of these words show that Prasun has a closer connection with Ir. than the rest of the Kafir dialects. Probably the Prasuns are the remnants of a very ancient population. It is perhaps not without significance that the temple of Imra in Prasun was considered to be the religious centre of Kafiristan.

The morphology of the Prasun verb is rather complicated, and without more extensive texts than I was in position to collect, it is difficult to determine the exact value of all the forms. Very characteristic of Prasun is the frequent use of verbal prefixes of localizing value. E. g. *āz-* 'to see', *abīz-* 'to look down, outdoors', *alīz-* 'to look up, outdoors', *atīz-* 'to look in', *avīz-* 'to look out', *lyēz-* 'to look up, indoors', *pyēz-* 'to look down (through the smoke-hole)' etc.

IRANIAN GROUP

All the four Ir. languages spoken in Chitral have been introduced into the country in comparatively recent times, and only one of them has belonged to the land long enough to develop into a special dialect.

Pashto is spoken only by a few settlers, especially in the Ashreth valley, and immigrants from Badakhshan have brought Badakhshi Persian to Madaglasht in the Shishi valley[2]. **Pashto.** **Persian.**

Wakhi is spoken in upper Yarkhun. The number of permanent Wakhi settlers, who in Gurdon's time amounted **Wakhi.**

[1] V. Addendum.

[2] Lorimer, Bakhtiari, Badakhshani, and Madaglashti Phonology, R.A.S. Prize Publ. Vol. VI.

only to some fourteen families, has lately increased[1]. Apparently the Wakhis first came over for the sake of the summer pastures; but they have gradually brought under the plough much cultivable ground above the Kho settlements. In a similar way these hardy people have occupied the higher parts of the Hunza valley and have also overflowed into Sarikol from their barren home-valley.

I did not meet any of these Chitral Wakhis, but I had occasion to interrogate four inhabitants of Wakhan, from the villages of Wark, Namadgut, Khandut and Yamg. Only the last one, a headman who had come to see the Mehtar, spoke quite pure Wakhi, the Khandut man was probably, in spite of his denial, a native of Hunza, and the dialect of the two others was much mixed with Ishkashmi. E. g. the word for 'ear' was said to be *γaḷ* (Ishk. *γōl*) by the man from Wark; the Namadguti pronounced it *gīṡ* and *γīṡ*, the Khanduti *giṩ*, and only my informant from Yamg used the correct Wakhi form *γ̌īṩ*. The words given for 'wool' were *pâm* (Ishk.), *paṡm* (Prs.), *gēr* and *γ̌er*. It is impossible to decide, without inquiries on the spot, how far the dialect of lower Wakhan has actually been influenced by Ishk.; but I suspect that some of my informants did not really have Wakhi as their native language. The personal pronouns according to the Wark man were *azé* 'I', *tə* 'thou', *təfák* 'thee', *tumux* 'you', and it is scarcely possible that these Ishk.-Sangl. forms are really used in the Wakhi spoken in Wark. In that case the dialect of that village would be a real mixed language. For '7' the Wark man gave *hībᵊδ*; but it seems probable that this is not a more archaic form of *hūb*, but represents the attempt of a Ishk.-speaking man to produce a Wakhi sounding form (cf. Ishk. *ōvd*). In one case he gave a Munji word: *lând* 'tooth', but this form is not identical with that (*låt*) used by the Munji speaking inhabitant of Wakhan questioned by Gauthiot[2].

Among genuine Wakhi words used by my informant

[1] Stein, Serindia, p. 50.

[2] MSL. XX, 133 sqq.

from Yamg and not found in earlier sources, I shall mention only *jəi* 'bowstring', *ϑīn* 'hot', *yīrzⁿ* 'millet', *δīsivəm* 'I show' (Shaw *visüvam*); *nəδavnam* 'I embrace, *mēčašpam*', pret. *nəδafst-*, is possibly connected with Shaw's *nadhevs-an* 'to affect, stain' (cf. EVP. s. v. *blōs*). Note the palatalization in *wuxěn* 'blood', *γer* 'wool' etc.

My Yamgi informant used forms in *-əv* for the 2 pl., e. g. *pōvəv* 'you drink', *yāwov* 'you eat'. The Khandut man had *-ĭt*. Shaw gives *-it*, but Hjuler *-əv*, and the two forms must belong to different dialects.

In Yamg Wakhan is called *Wux̌* and Wakhi *X̌īk* (*sák-ən X̌íkən* 'we are Wakhis').

But the most important Ir. language of Chitral is Yidgha, which is spoken by some 2—300 families in a number of villages in upper Lutkoh. **Yidgha.**

Although Yidgha is simply a dialect of Munji, my informants did not know anything about their ancestors having come from Munjan, and they said that no intermarrying took place between Yidghas and Munjis. The Yidgha *tribe* extends further down the valley than the Yidgha language. It is divided into clans, in the same manner as the Khos, and Turikho or Badakhshan is said to be its original home.

A member of the tribe is called *Idəγ*, pl. *Idγë* (Munji *Yïdg*, *Yïdᵊgī*), the language *Yedγä*, and the Yidgha country *Idγéf* (Khow. *Injigān*).[1] Dialectical variation is very slight, as is only natural, considering that it is possible to walk through the Yidgha territory in a few hours. I had six informants from different villages, but worked more extensively with two of them, from whom I did also collect some texts.

Yidgha contains a larger number of Khowar loanwords than Munji, whereas this latter dialect has become more persianized. E. g. Yd. *los* '10', *wisto* '20', *losiyū* '11' (a Khowar construction), but Mj. *da*, *bist*, *yōzda*.

The following are the chief phonetical features distinguishing Yd. from Mj.

[1] Cf. BSOS. VI. 443.

Yd. *šč*, but Mj. *šk^{y}* < *št* (Yd. *aščṓ*, Mj. *åšk^{y}å* '8'). Yd. *ṛ*, but Mj. *r* < *rt* (Yd. *yāṛë*, Mj. *yōr̈iy* 'flour').[1] Yd. *ṇ*, but Mj. *ŋ^{gy}* etc. < *rn* (Yd. *yāṇɪm*, Mj. *yâŋ^{gy}əm* 'I grind').

In many cases, but not always, Yd. has *a* where Mj. has *o*. E. g. Yd. *yasp*, Mj. *yosp* 'horse', but Yd. *xoro*, Mj. *xoro*, *xəra* 'donkey'.

Special cases are Yd. *ċšīr*, *cšīr*, Mj. *ċfūr*, *ċφīr* '4' from a common Mj.-Yd. form **č(^{a})x̌fūr* < **č^{a}ϑfūr*; Yd. *yεx̌kɔ*, Mj. *yälko* 'duck', apparently from Ir. **āϑyakā* and **ādikā* (?); Yd. *agidro*, Mj. *agliro* 'grape', probably from an older form **agirdo*, cf. Shgh. *aŋgūrδ*, Prs. *rōs-angurda* 'fox-grapes'; Yd. *rispə'n*, Mj. *yuspən* 'iron'. Yd. has also adapted Khowar sounds such as *ṭ*, *ḍ*, *ç*, *ẓ* in loanwords, e. g. *īẓ* 'snake', but *Īẓ* 'name of a village'.

Munji. Munji is not a uniform language, but is divided into several dialect groups. My eight informants came from five different villages. Reckoned from above they were: *Tili*, *Miāndeh*, *Ghaz*, *Shahr-i-Munjān* and finally *Tagou*, in the side-valley which runs from *Shahr* up towards the east to the Khalargai Pass. If my informant from *Tili* did not deceive me, his dialect in mos particulars agreed with that of lower Munjan, *Ghaz*, *Shahr* and *Tagou*, and not with that of the intervening village of *Miāndeh*.

In Mj. ti., gh., sh., tag. postsonantic *-k-* has resulted in *-γ-*, in the same way as original *-g-*, and *-ū-* in certain cases becomes *-ī-*. The same development has taken place in Yd., but Mj.-Miāndeh has *-g-*, *ū*; e. g. Mj. gh., Yd. *wurγ* 'wolf' (cf. *mirγa* etc. 'meadow'); Mj. m. *wurg*; Mj. gh., Yd. *fīz* 'breast', *ċφīr*, *ċšīr* '4', *nīf* 'navel', Mj. m. *fūz*, *ċfūr*, *nūfa*. But regarding the fem. ending Mj. m. joins Yd. in having *-o* (*-å*), where as other Mj. dialects have *-a*, *-ε*.

More complicated is the distribution of the assimilation of *nd*, *mb*, *ng* into *d*, *b*, *g*. Yd. has assimilated forms throughout; e. g. *γādəm* 'wheat', *pado* 'road': Mj. gh., m. *γōndum*, *pōndo* etc. In a few cases the assimilation extends

[1] Yd. *yūṛ* 'fire' < **ārt*, with early metathesis from *ātr-* where the *t* has been reintroduced from the strong stem *ātar-*. Cf. Par. Voc. s. v. *âṛ*.

to Mj. m., but not to Mj. gh. etc.; e. g. Yd. *lad* 'tooth', *zīk* 'knee': Mj. m. *lod̮*, *zūk*. Mj. gh. *lōnd*, *zīŋg*. And, finally, the assimilation takes place in all the dialects of Mj. which I had occasion to hear, e. g. in Yd. *ogušćo* 'finger': Mj. m. *āguškʸo*, gh. *əguškʸə*. I am not at present able to detect any phonetical reasons for these variations, and they may possibly be due to borrowing or mixing of dialects.

Our previous sources of information about Munji are: 1) A short and very unreliable vocabulary compiled by Munshi Faiz Bakhsh and published by Shaw. 2) The Parable and standard vocabulary prepared by Khan Sahib Abdul Hakim Khan for the LSI. 3) Gauthiot's short vocabulary[1]. 4) Zarubins vocabulary with specimen text[2]. —Gauthiot's informant was a Munjani settler in Wakhan. the other sources give no information about the provenience of the material.

The dialects described by Z. and G. agree with Mj. m. in preserving *ū* and *-g-*; Z. has fem. *-a* or *-å*, G. *-a*. But both of these recorders, and also the LSI., have assimilation of nasal in some words where Mj. m. has *nd*.

The dialect on which the account in the LSI. is based has *ū* (*čfūr*), but *-γ-* < *-k-* (*yauγa* 'water') and fem. *-a* (*leγda* 'daughter'). And, finally, Faiz Bakhsh' vocabulary agrees with Mj. gh. etc. in all four particulars ('*chafîr*', '*yàogha*', '*loghda*' and '*land*'); but it has also *n* in '*ankardia*' (for *'*ankaskia*', transcribed from انکسکیه ?) 'finger'.

The distribution of the assimilation of nasals in the different dialects of Mj. and Yd. may be tabularized in the following way:

	Yd.	Mj. Z.	Mj. m.	Mj. gh.	Mj. FB.
'high' (lw.)	*biländ*	*bəlánd*	*bıländ*	*biland*	[prob. **biland*]
'claw'	*čigāli*	*čaŋg*	*čoŋg*	*čaŋgōl*	[» **čang-*]
'wheat'	*γādəm*	*γodum*	*γōndum*	*γōndum*	*ghandam*
'tooth'	*lad*	*lod*	*lod̮*	*lōnd*	*land*
'finger'	*oguščo*	*ågušk'a*	*āguškʸo*	*əguškʸə*	*ankardia*
'honey'	*agⁱmīn*	*agmīⁿ* (G.)	*agmīn*	*agmin*	*agman*

[1] MSL, XX, 133 sqq.

[2] Iran, vol. I, pp. 111 ff.

An exact localization of the earlier materials does not seem possible. Probably, however, Mj. Z. and originally also Mj. G., belong to the upper part of the valley, while the home of Mj. FB., where the assimilation of nasals is least prevalent, must be sought for below Shahr, close to the Prs.-speaking part of the valley. Mj. LSI. occupies an intermediate position between Mj. gh. on the one hand and Mj. Z., G., m. on the other as regards the treatment of *ū* and *-g-*.

Finally it may be mentioned that there is a possibility that Ir. *-*ṡṡ*- (Av. -*ṡ*-) < *-*k̂s*- is still distinguished in Mj.-Yd. from the -*ṡ*- (Av. -*ṡ*-) which is developed from -*s*- after *i*, *u*, *r*. But the problem is too complicated to allow of a discussion in this connection.

It remains to mention Sanglechi-Ishkashmi, an Ir. language which is spoken close to, but not within the borders of Chitral.

Ishkashmi. From Ishkashim (*Iṡkā'ṡɪm*) I had only two informants, both of whom had Prs. as their mother-tongue. One of them spoke Ishk. fairly well and provided me with a vocabulary, the forms of which agree quite well with those given by Stein, and also with the still unpublished list of words collected by the late Dr. Sköld.

Sanglechi. From the Sanglech valley I had five informants, natives of the villages of *Saŋlḗċ*, *Póroγ* and *Iskitū́l* (-*tū́δ*). They all agreed that Persian was the exclusive language of the market village of Zebak (*Izivū́k*), thus confirming the information given me in Kabul in 1924 by recruits from Ishkashim and Zebak. The dialect described in the LSI. is that of Bāzgīr, a village situated between Zebak and Ishkashim.

As already noticed by Sir George Grierson[1], Zebaki is only another name for Sanglechi, and since the dialect is not spoken in Zebak itself, but chiefly in the villages of the neighbouring Sanglech valley, it seems better to retain the latter name, which is also the one used by

[1] Ishkashmi, Zebaki and Yazghulami, p. 3.

Shaw and Geiger. The Zebaki of the LSI. and the Sanglichi of Shaw (from Munshi Faiz Bakhsh) agree with my Sanglechi as much as can be expected.

Whereas Ishk. and Sangl. are distinct dialects of the same language, the differences of pronunciation within the hamlets of the Sanglech valley appear to be minimal. Suffice it to mention that in the uppermost village, Iskitul, *ẓ̌d* is changed into *γd*; e. g. *woγdān* 'millet', *vəγdūk* 'long', from Sangl. of Porogh *wuẓ̌dan*, *vəẓ̌dūk*.

Between Ishk. and Sangl. the difference is to some extent one of vocabulary, Sangl. having preserved the indigenous word in many cases where Ishk. has adopted a Prs. one. Thus we find Sgl. *wulmik* 'moon', *fəršōu* 'night', *dos* '10', *wišt* '20', *rus* '30', *koδos* '11', but Ishk. *mâtou*, *šab*, *dā*, *bīst*, *sī*, *yōzda*.

In the field of morphology we may mention Ishk. 1 sg. *-əm*, 1 pl. *-ən*: Sgl. *-ən*, *-əm*, and Ishk. *fak* 'thee': Sgl. *təfak*.

The vowel-system of the two dialects differ to some extent, and whereas Ishk. has preserved *ṭ* < *št*, this sound has become dental *t* in Sgl. On the other hand Sgl. has *ḷ* (or *ṛ*) from *-š-* and *rt*; but, as far as my material permits me to judge, Ishk. has dental *l*. In Sgl. *-t-* and *-d-* both result in -δ-, e. g. *vərūδ* 'brother', *kuδ* 'dog'; and *mēδ* 'waist', *pūδ* 'foot', *wuδəγδ* 'daughter'[1]. Ishk., probably on account of its being more subject to Prs. influence, has replaced the δ by *d* in *kud*, *mēd*, *wudúγd*[2]. My informant dropped the *-d* in *vərū* and *pū*, the LSI. has *vrūd* and *pū*.

An important feature of Ishk.-Sgl. is the palatalization of velar consonants in certain positions. Cf. e. g. Sgl. *yir* 'rock', *koryōs* 'vulture' (Prs. *kargas*), *arī* 'work' (Mj *horγ*), *fəryəm* 'female kid' (Mj. *fraγiŋgo*), *mōi* 'cloud', *kurčūn*, Ishk. *kərčin* 'hen'. But *mərγōg* 'sparrow'

[1] *yotuk* 'bridge' < **ētk* < **hētuk*; *wuδīt* 'span' with dissimilation from **wuδīδ* < **vidāti-*.

[2] Cf. the substitution of *d* for δ in incorrect Wakhi, e. g. Namadguti *detr*, *δətr* 'sickle'. — Ishk.-Sgl. initial *ḍ-* (but γ-, v-) probably < δ-, — through Prs. influence?

ϑ is lost in *mei* 'day'; but ϑ*w* apparently becomes *f* in *c̥ᵊfūr* '4', Ishk. *fak* 'thee'. Sgl. has *tᵊfak* where the *tᵊ* may have been restored from *tə* 'thou'. But Sgl. *puδf*, Ishk. *putf* 'meat', which one would prefer to derive from Av. *-piϑwa-* 'food' and not from **pituϑwa-*, renders it possible that the dental was maintained in this position. In that case *cᵊfūr* would have to be derived from **c*(ϑ)*fūr*.

Ishk.-Sgl. occupies an intermediate position between Mj.-Yd. and Wakhi, and presents points of resemblance with both. The vocabulary agrees largely with that of the former group, and proves that it has ancient connections with the true Pamir dialects. The Ishk.-Sgl. tendency towards palatalization of velar consonants recalls the much further advanced process which has taken place in Shgh., and there are also some special correspondences of vocabulary between the two languages.[1]

[1] E. g. Ishk.-Sgl. *vin*, Shgh. *bōn* 'beard' < Av. **upa* + *ąŋhan-*.

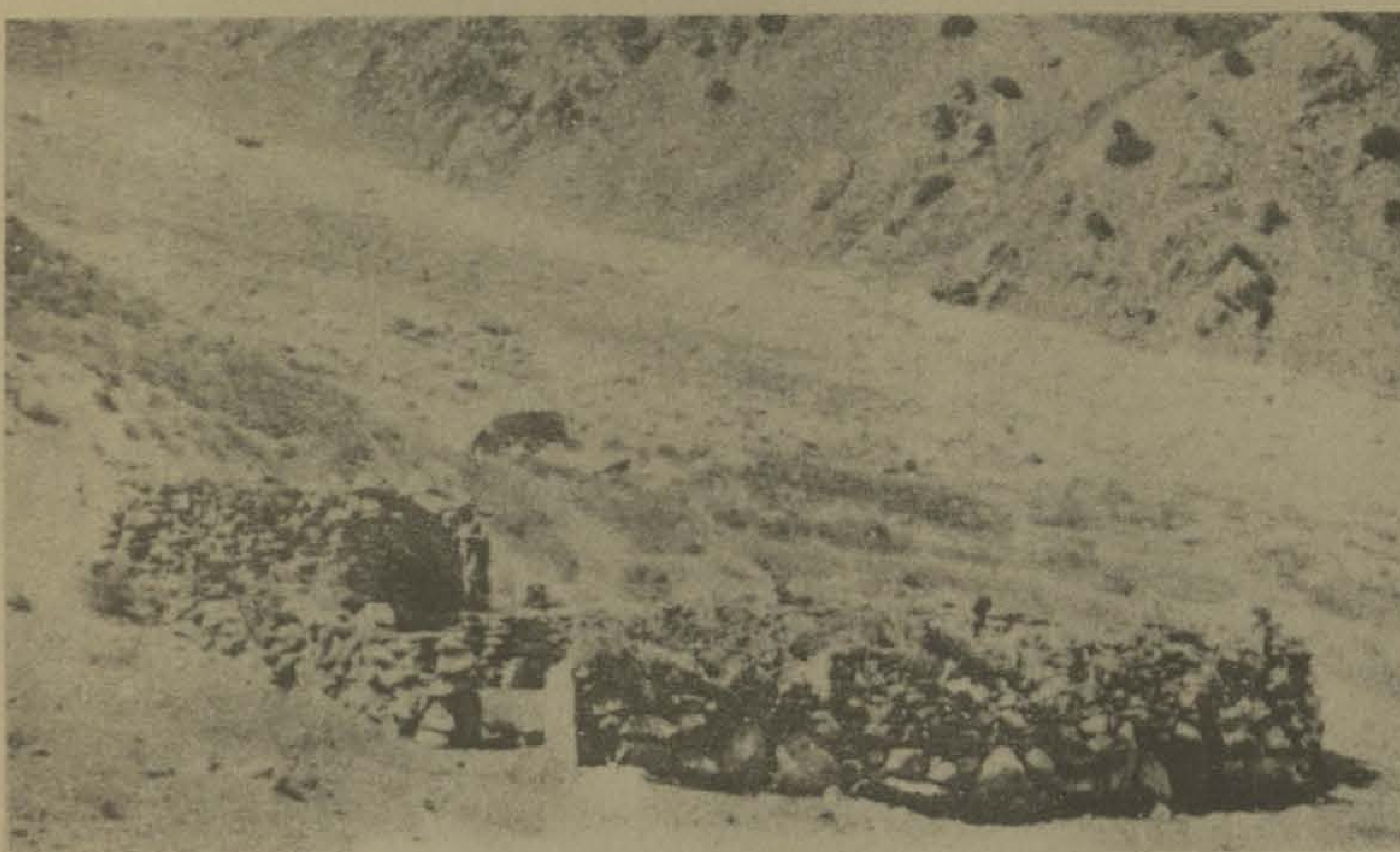

Afghanistan
N.W.F.P.
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Bannu
Razmak
Kaniguram
ORMURI
Dera Ismail Khan
Darabund
Takht-i-Suleiman
Sherani
Kandahar
Helmund R.
Chaman
PASHTO
Pishin
Bostan
KAKAR
Tarin
Quetta
WANETSI
Harnai
KHETRANI
E. BALOCHI
Mastung
Nushki
Sibi
Kalat
BRAHUI
LAHNDA
Balochistan
Indus
Mohenjo Daro
Persia
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Kalasha images, Rumbur.



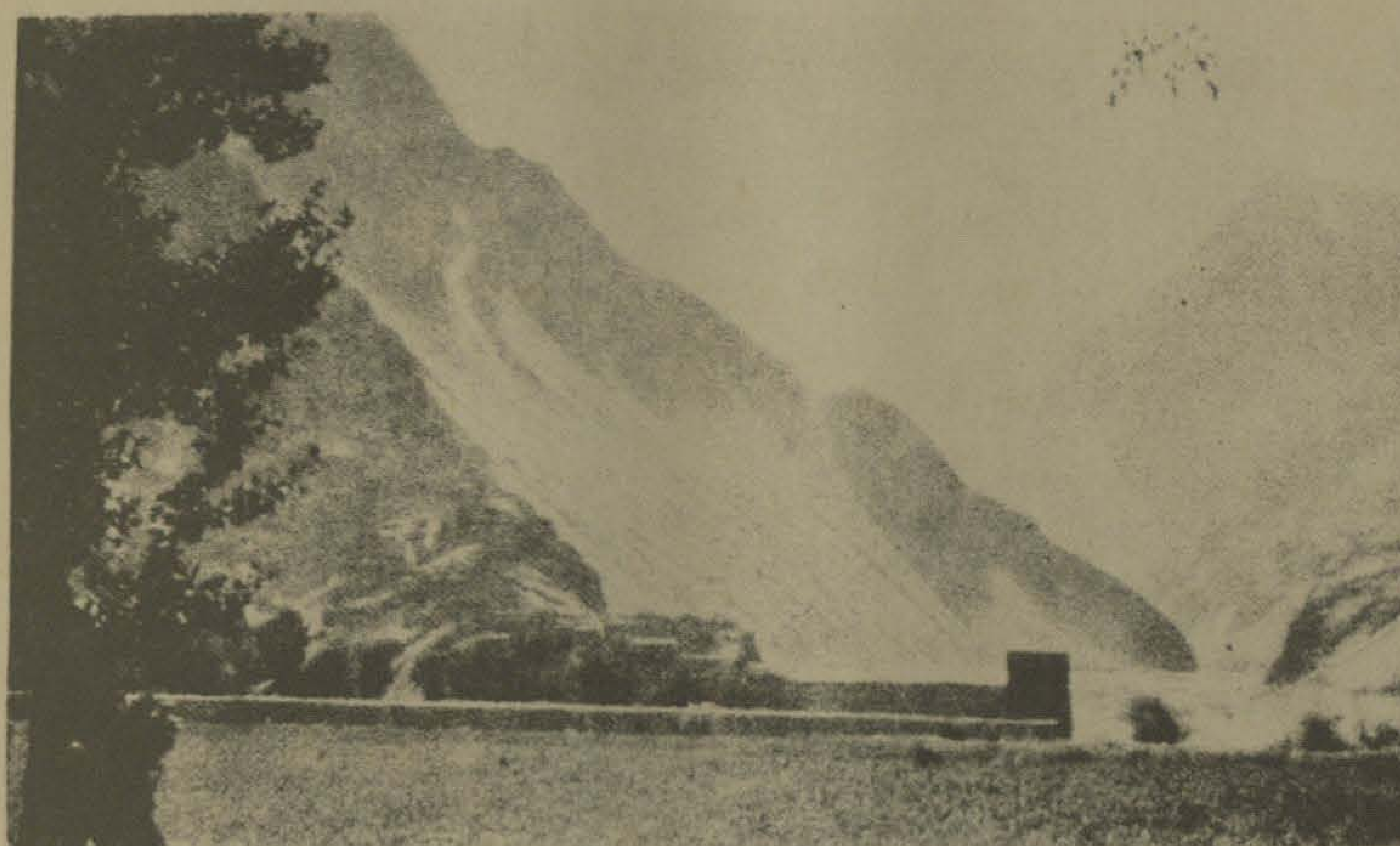
Kalasha dance, Rumbur.



Dairy farm of the Katia.



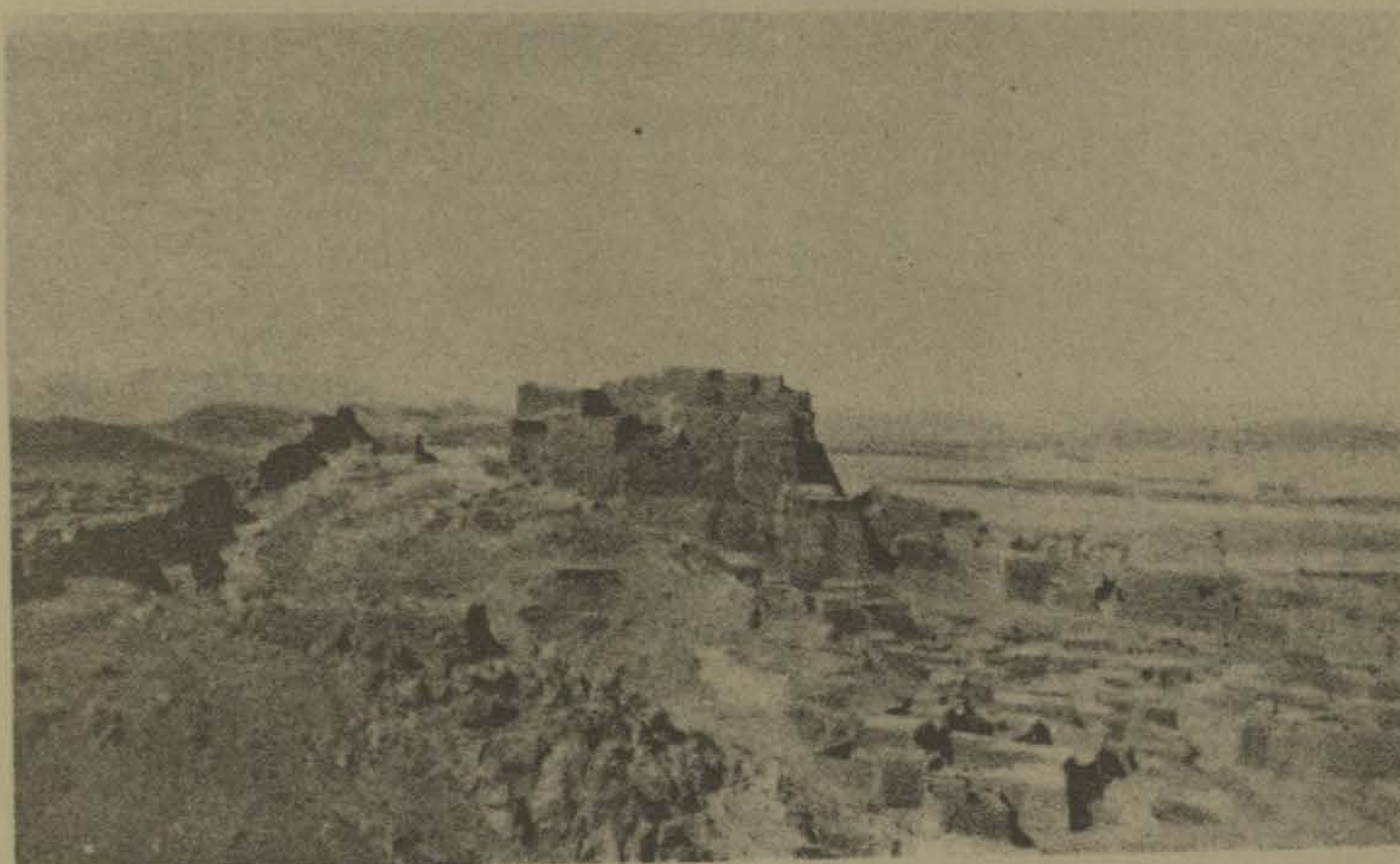
The village court-yard in Brumotul.



Shoghor in the Lutkoh valley.



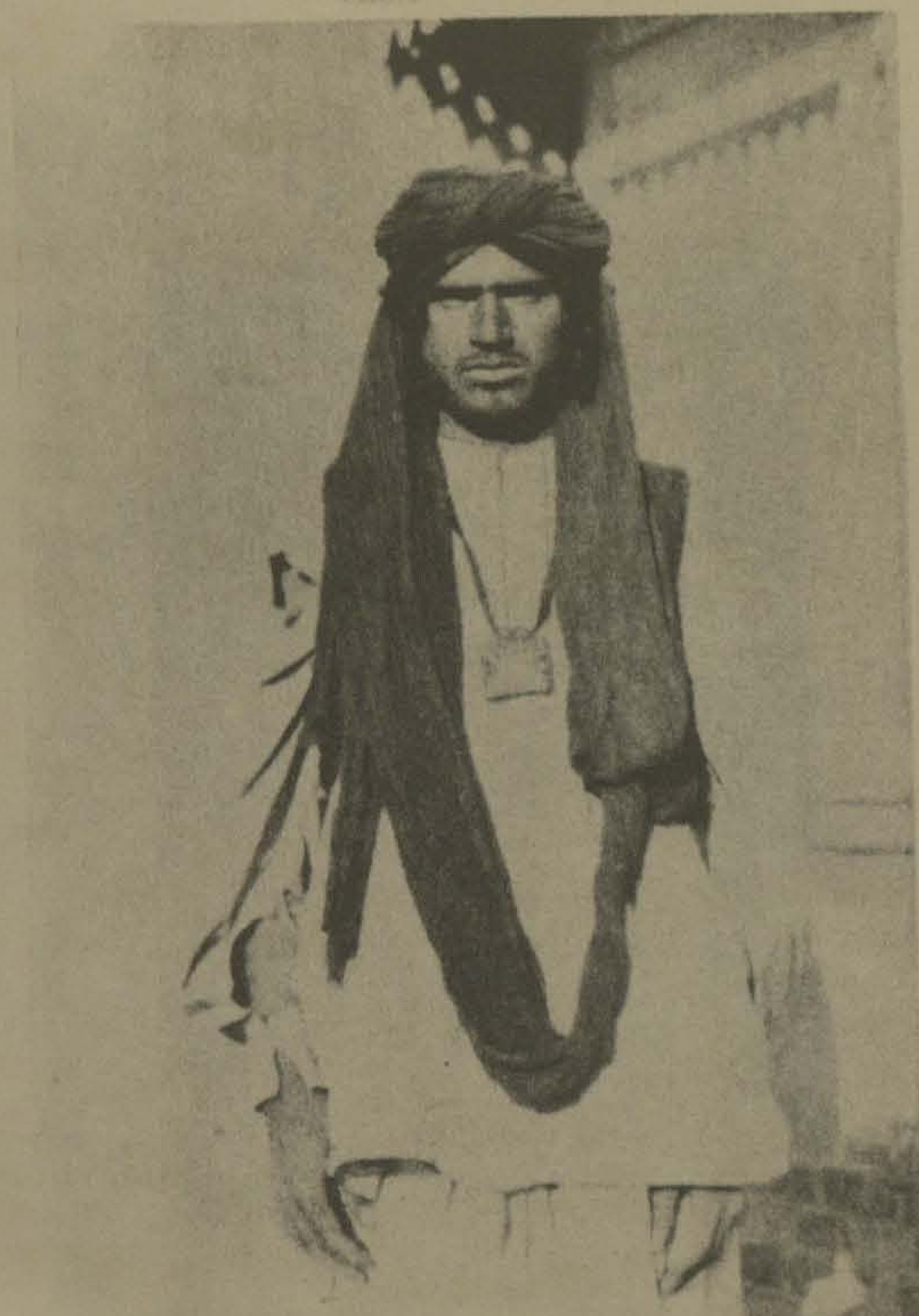
The Gangalvat Pass.



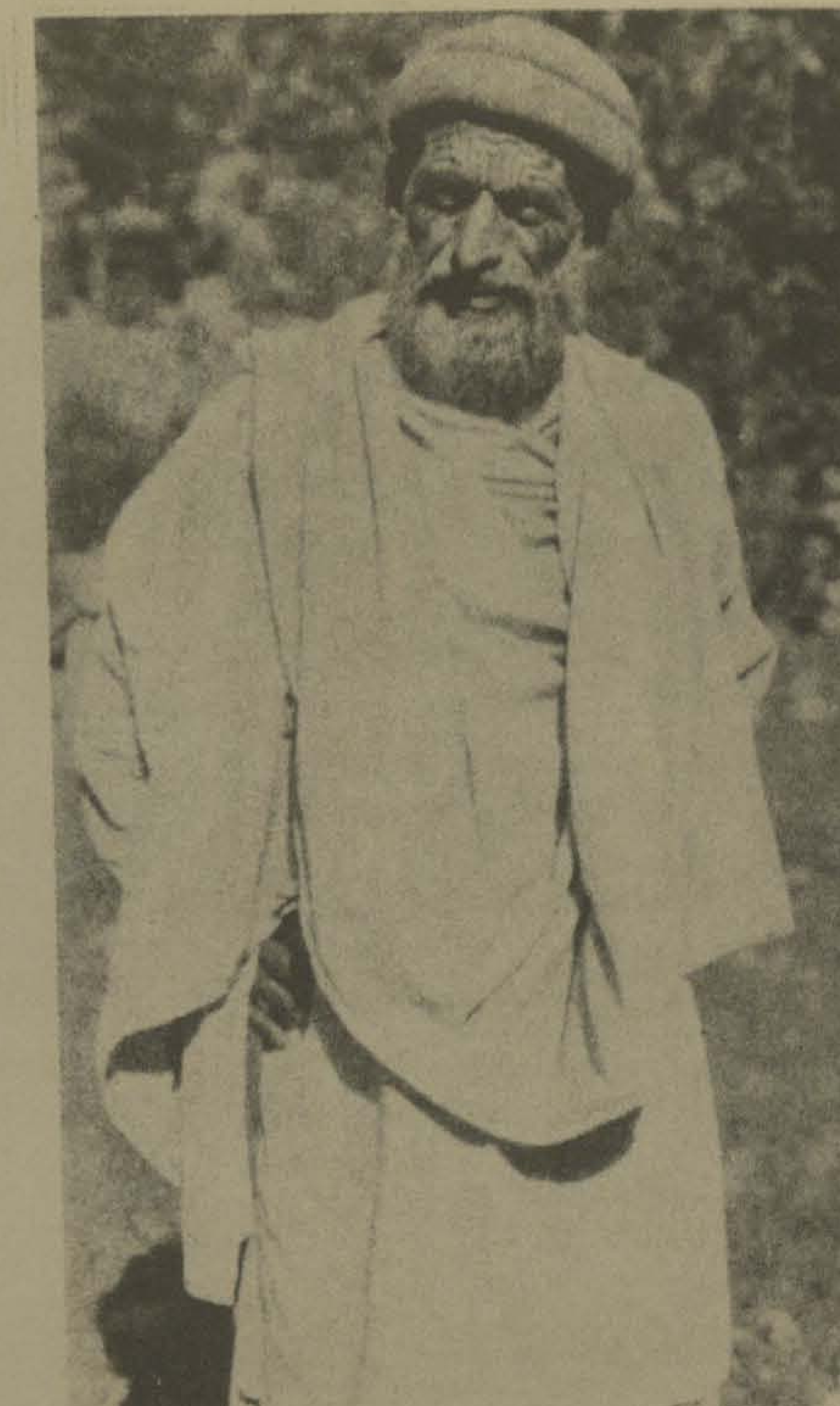
Kalat.



Ruined walls near Darora.



A White Tarin from Harnai (Balochistan).



Kooli, chief of the Kunisht Katis.



Chief and priest of the pagan Katis, Brumotul.



Sacrifice to Disärni, Brumotul.


SHUGHNI
Pamir (Russian Terr.)
BADAKHSHAN
PERSIAN
Yamg
Khandut
Baroghil P.
WAKHI
Namadgut
Wark
Bazgir
Ishkashm
ISHKASHMI
Zebak
SANGLECHI
Sanglech
Porogh
Munjan
Terich
Turikho
Yarkhun
WAKHI
WERCHIKWAR
Mastuj
Mulikho
Terich Mir
Hind Kush
MUNJI
Iskitul
Shahr
Tagau
L. Dufferin
Ghaz
Dorah P.
Daghiri
KHOWAR
Reshun
Chitral
Shandur
Gilgit
Miandeh
Tili
YIDGHA
Garm Chishma
Lutkoh
Gangalwat P.
Chitral Fort
Kunisht
Bargramatal
Rumbur
KATI
Bashgal
Bumboret
KALASHA
Ayun
Madaglasht
Purigal
Birir
Drosh
PALULA
Ashiret
Afghanistan
Kafiristan
Saici
Ktiwi
KATI PRASUN
Zumu
Kamdesh
Gaurdesh
Utsun
Nagar
Mirkhandi
Ashret
Ziarat
Lowarai P.
Damel
Arandu
DAMELI
GAWAR-BATI
Dir Kohistan
BASHKARIK
Chilas
SHINA
Ushut
WAIGELI
Gujar
Dir F.
Swat Kohistan
Sau
SAVI
Dir
Chukiatan
Pales
ASHKUN
Kurangal
Kurdar Traieguma
Darora
Garai
Shumasht
Chilas
Pech R.
Warai
TORWALI
Aret
Charhil
Kunar R.
Panjkora
PASHAI
Sado
Wegal
Darra-i-Nur
Bajaur
Talash
Swat
PASHTO
Malakand P.
Kabul R.
Jalalabad
TIRAHI
Khyber P.
Peshawar
Nowshehra
N.W. Frontier Province
Indus
TIRAH
Afridis
Attock
LAHNDA
Khataks
Bangashes
10 20 30 40 Miles

INDEX